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CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE
GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY
OF
BENGAL.

(Muhammadan Period, A. D. 1203 to 1538).

BY
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CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

(With six plates and two woodcuts.)

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ERRATA.

Page 14, line 10, *for* river *read* G'hágrá river.

„ 27, line 1, *for* to *read* and to.

„ „ line 25, *for* downfall *read* downfal. .

„ 28, second note, *for* Koch *read* of Koch.

In the end of last year, General Cunningham, Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, forwarded to the Asiatic Society, for publication in the Journal, a unique collection of rubbings of Muhammadan inscriptions from Bengal and various places up-country, and in the Proceedings of our Society for January last, I gave an account of the importance of these rubbings with reference to the history of Bengal. Dr. J. Wise of Dacca, Mr. Walter Bourke, Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and Mr. W. L. Heeley, C. S., have also favoured the Society with valuable rubbings and notes on the localities where they were obtained, and I shall delay no longer to carry out the wishes of the donors and publish my readings with a few notes suggested by the subject. I have also examined our coin cabinet, which I found to contain some unpublished Bengal coins of great value.

The importance of mural and medallie evidence for Bengal History arises from the paucity and meagreness of written sources. Whilst for the history of the Dillí Empire we possess general and special histories, often the work of contemporaneous writers, we have only secondary sources and incidental remarks for the early Muhammadan period of Bengal, *i. e.*, from A. D., 1203 to 1538. Nizámuddín Ahmad, who served Akbar as Bakhshí, the friend and protector of the historian Badáoní, is the first writer that gives in his *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, which were completed in 1590, a short connected account of the independent kings of Bengal from 1338 to 1538. For the time between 1203 and 1338, we depend on incidental remarks made by Dillí writers, as Minháj i Siráj, Baramí, and 'Alí. Firishtah, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, has a chapter on the same period as Nizám; but though he gives a little more, it seems that he used the same, at present unknown, source as the author of the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*. But there can be no doubt that this source was a work defective in chronology and meagre in details. Firishtah also cites a historical compilation by one Háji Muhammad of Qandahár, of which no copy is at present known to exist.

The latest writer on Bengal History is Ghulam Husain of Zaidpúr, poetically styled 'Salim,' who composed his *Riyázussaláṭín*, or 'the Gardens of Kings,' at the request of Mr. George Udney of Máldah. This work, the

title of which contains in the numerical value of the letters the date of its completion (A. H. 1202, or A. D. 1787-88), is rare, but is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time. From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point.* His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salim has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Stewart, who used the Riyáz as the basis of his History of Bengal, has given a translation of the greater part of the work; but from a leaning to Firishtah he has left out useful passages, which will be found below.

A commentary on Inscriptions necessarily contains references to the history and the geography of the country; but in order not to overload the subject with unconnected remarks, I have, in the following, separated the geographical from the historical portion, and have thus found means to collect, in a convenient way, numerous stray notes which for several years have been accumulating in the course of my historical studies.

* When quoting this unknown source, Salim uses phrases as '*dar risálah e dáláh am*,' 'I have seen in some pamphlet,' or '*ba-qanle*,' 'according to another statement,' &c.

The Asiatic Society Library has one MS. of the Riyázussalátin (No. 526), written in bold *shikastak*, 277 pages, 8vo., 15 lines per page, copied in 1851 at Hajipur by one Sadruddin Ahmad. Beginning—*Jahán jahán hamul sazawár i báryáh i jahán-áfarínó ast, kih ín mazáhir i kaunt-rá ba-yad i qudrat i kámilah i kibrésh ba-hilyah i wujúd muholla sákhtah*, &c. The work consists of a Preface in four parts, and four Chapters, of which the last contains two parts. The end contains the following description of the character of the "new rulers"—

"The English among the Christians are adorned with the head-dress of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war, and in festivities, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are unrivalled; and their truthfulness is so great, that they would not break a promise, should they even lose their lives. They admit no liar to their society, are pious, faithful, pitiful, and honorable. They have neither learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the page of vice; and though their religion is opposed to ours, they do not interfere with the religion, rites, and propagation of the Muhammadan faith.

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر یکجا میکشد خواب يك خواب است باشد مختلف تعبیرها

All wrangling about faith and heresy leads to the same place: the dream is one and the same dream, though the interpretations may differ."

PART I.—GEOGRAPHICAL.

Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtyár Khiljí in A. D. 1203, Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts—(1) *Ráḍha*, the country west of the Húglí and south of the Ganges; (2) *Baḡḍi*, the delta of the Ganges; (3) *Baṅga*, the country to the east of, and beyond, the delta; (4) *Bareṇdra*, the country to the north of the Padma (Podda) and between the Karatayá and the Mahánandá rivers; and (5) *Mithilá*, the country west of the Mahánandá. We do not know whether these names refer to revenue districts, or merely indicate (as they now do) popular divisions based upon the course of principal rivers; but as the different orders of Bráhmans and Káyasths take their distinctive names from these divisions, it may be assumed that they existed or were recognized at the time of Ballála Sen, who classified the two castes.

The ease with which Bakhtyár Khiljí took possession of Bengal by his surprise of Nadiyá,* the then capital, stands unparalleled in history, unless we compare it with the almost peaceful transfer of the same country, five hundred and fifty-five years later, from the Muhammadans to the East India Company. But it would be wrong to believe that Bakhtyár Khiljí conquered the whole of Bengal: he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilá, Barendra, the northern portions of *Ráḍha*, and the north-western tracts of *Baḡḍi*. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of *Lak'hnauti*, and its extent is described by the author of the *Ṭabaqát i Náqiri*, who says that the country of *Lak'hnauti* lies to both sides of the Ganges and consists of two wings: the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokot belongs; and the western has the name of *Rál* [*i. e.*, *Ráḍha*], to which *Lak'hnúr* belongs. Hence the same writer also distinguishes† *Lak'hnauti*-Deokot from *Lak'hnauti*-*Lak'hnúr*. From the town of *Lak'hnauti* to Deokot on the one side, and from *Lak'hnauti* to the door of *Lak'hnúr*, on the other side, an embanked road (*pul*) passes, ten days' march. Distinct from the country of *Lak'hnauti* is *Banga* (*diyár i Bang*, *Bangadesh*, *Ṭabaqát*, p. 267), and in this part of Bengal the descendants of the *Lak'hmaniyah* kings of Nadiyá still reigned in A. H. 658, or 1260, A. D., when Minháj i Siráj, the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, wrote his history.‡ Deokot, which still gives name to a large parganah, was correctly identified by Buchanan with the old fort near Dandamá, on the left bank of the Purná-

* *Lak'hman Sen*, the last king of Bengal, though called king, cannot have been much more than the principal zamíndár of his time. "He was a liberal man," says the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, "and never gave less than a lak'h of cowries, when he made a present—may God lessen his punishment in hell!"

† *Ṭabaqát*, pp. 162, 242.

‡ *Ṭabaqát Náqiri*, p. 151. Thus an expedition against *Banga* by the governor of *Lak'hnauti* is mentioned in 657. *Ṭabaqát Náqiri*, p. 267.

bhaba, south of Dínájpúr. Close to it lies Gangarámpúr with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription known in Bengal.* Lak'hnúr,† the town or 'thanah' of the other "wing," has not yet been identified. The name occurs in no Muhammadan history after the time of the *Ṭabaqāt* i Nāçiri, and the only hint given is, that it lay west of the Húghl, on the road, at about the same distance from Lak'hnauti city as Deokot lay from the capital—which would be the northern portion of District Bírghúm.

Minháj's remark that Banga was, in 1260, still in the hands of Lak'hman Sen's descendants, is confirmed by the fact that Sunnārgāon is not mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*; nor does it occur on the coins of the first century of Muhammadan rule. It is first mentioned in the *Tāríkh i Baranī* as the residence, during Balban's reign, of an independent Rái; but under Tughluq Sháh (A. D. 1323), Sunnārgāon and Sāt-gāon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muhammadan governors, the term 'Bangálah' being now applied to the united provinces of Lak'hnauti, Sāt-gāon, and Sunnārgāon.‡

The *Tāríkh i Baranī*, the *Tāríkh i Fīrúزشáhi* by 'Afif, and the *Travels* of Ibn Baṭūṭah yield but little additional information. Fīrúzábad, or Paṇḍuah (north of Máldah, or Máldah) which General Cunningham significantly calls 'Hazrat Paṇḍuah,' or 'Paṇḍuah, the Residence,' appears as the new capital, and in connexion with it Fort Ekdálah, said to be 'near Paṇḍuah.' The actual site of this fort is still a matter of doubt; even the

* Of Kai Káuś Sháh, A. D. 1297. *Journal*, A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I., p. 102.

† Major Raverty, of whose translation of the *Ṭabaqāt* two fasciculi have just appeared, informs me that all his best MSS. have لکھنور, Lak'hnúr. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition has لکھنور, and often also لکھور; and it was, no doubt, the last spelling that led Stewart to substitute Nágor (in western Bírghúm), which certainly lies in the direction indicated. Outside of the Maráthá wall of Nágor, we have a Lak'hí-púr and a Lak'hináráyanpúr.

‡ Baranī, p. 452. He spells Satgāon, not Sāt-gāon. It is almost useless to remark on the geography of Bengal as given in the *Ṭabaqāt* before the appearance of Major Raverty's translation, who has collated nearly all existing MSS. of the work. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition is untrustworthy. Taking it, however, as it is, we find the following places mentioned—Núdiyah, in this spelling, for Nadiyá; Lak'hnauti; Banga; Rál (Ráḍha); Barendra; Lak'hnúr; Deokot; Nárkoti (?), ديار كوني, ناركوٹی, pp. 156 to 158; كنگوری, كنگوري (?), p. 158; مكيدة (?), منطوس (perhaps سنترس), p. 158; Bangāon, p. 153; Fort Bishnkoṭ, founded by Husámuddín 'Iwaz near Lak'hnauti, pp. 180, 243. Besides these, a few places are mentioned on the frontiers of Bengal, as Kám-rúd (always with this spelling) for Kám-rúp, ديار سکنات, Jagannáth (Púri) ?; and a few places in Asámi or Tibbat; ارمردن ?, p. 263; and Jánuagar, regarding which *vide* below.

The *Tāríkh i Firishtah* furnishes the isolated fact of the foundation of Rangpúr by Bakhtiyár Khiljí on the frontier of Bengal (Lucknow Edition, p. 293).

author of the *Riyázussalāṭīn*, who lived in the neighbourhood of Māldah and Paṇḍuah, says nothing about it.*

About 850 A. H. (A. D. 1446), during the reign of Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh, the capital was transferred to Gaur. Thus Lak'hnautī is henceforth again called in history. The transfer, though it may have been connected with the restoration of an old dynasty, was unfortunate. Gaur lies in the middle between the Ganges and the Mahānandā, thus occupying, as is the case in all Deltaic lands, the lowest site; and east of it lies the Kallak Sajā marsh, called in the *ẖīn Chuttiā-palliā*, into which the drainage of the town opened. Every increase in the waters of the Ganges caused the marsh, which is connected with it, to rise, and "if the [earthen] embankment broke, the town was under water,"† and the drainage was driven back into the town. Hence the removal of the capital, a short time afterwards, to Tāṇḍah,‡ and the ultimate desertion of the town as a fever centre for Rāj-mahall.

The meagre information supplied by the Ṭabaqāt i Nizāmī and Firish-tah throws no further light on the geography of Bengal, but leaves the impression that during the reigns of the independent kings (A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D., 1338 to 1538) the extent of Muhammadan Bengal was the same as what we find it in A. D. 1582, the year in which Todar Mall prepared his rent-roll of Bengal, a copy of which Abul Fazl has given in the *ẖīn*.

The coins and inscriptions of the above period yield a few particulars. We have the seven Bengal mint towns given by Thomas,§ to which I can

* Mr. Thomas compares with Ekdālāh the name of 'Jugdula,' a village east of Hazrat Paṇḍuah, towards the Purnābhāba. The Indian Atlas Sheet No. 119 also mentions a village Jagdal due north of Māldahā, near the Mahānandā, in Lat. 25° 17' 30", and a 'Jugdul' and a 'Jugdāl' will be found south-east of Gaur, Long. 88° 28', Lat. 24° 42'. Even in other parts the name is common; for Jagdal is the Bangālī 'Jogoddul,' 'a leaf of the world,' the world being the lotus, and each town a petal of it. Another Ekdālāh will be found on the same sheet, south-east of Bogra (Bagurā), Long. 89° 40' 30", Lat. 24° 35' 15", and a third is in Rājshāhī, a little south-west of Nātor. The name seems to be the Bangālī একদলী, 'having one wing;' and Dodalā 'having two wings,' occurs likewise as a name of villages.

† *ẖīn* i Akbarī.

‡ Rennell marks 'Tarah' near the Paglá River (a branch of the Ganges and perhaps the old bed of the river), south-west of the fort of Gaur. "Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the banks in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganges was wont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water." Ralph Fitch.

The losses of Akbar's Bengal army in Gaur will be found in my *ẖīn* translation, p. 376.

§ Lak'hnautī, Firúzábád (Paṇḍuah), Sātgaon, Shahr i Nau (?), Ghiyāspūr, Sunnārgaon, and Mu'azzunábád. *Chronicles*, p. 151.

now add three more, *viz.* Fathábád, Khalífatábád, and Husainábád, which will be discussed below. The inscriptions reveal the important fact, that Bengal was divided into revenue divisions called Mahalls, over which, as in the Dihlí empire, Shiqdárs* were placed, and into larger circles under 'Sarlashkars,' or military commanders, who have often also the title of Vazír (Díwán). Of places mentioned on inscriptions I may cite—Iqlím Mu'azzamábád (Eastern Maimansingh); Thánah Láúr (north-western Silbat,—both occur also united under the same Sarlashkar); Sarhat, in western Bírghúm, now in the Santal Parganahs; Láopallah, east of the Island in the Húgli opposite Tribení Ghát, evidently in olden times an important place as lying at the point where the Jabuná leaves the Húgli and commences her tortuous course, first easterly, then southerly, into the Sundarban;† and also several places which have not yet been identified, as Simlábád, Hádígarh, and Sájálá-Mankhbád.‡

From the middle of the 16th century we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical 'Da Asia' by Joáo de Barros (died 1570); and the graphic descriptions of Cæsar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583 to 1591). Nor must I forget the Persian traveller Amin Rázi, an uncle of Núr Jahán, who composed his 'Haft Iqlím' in A. H. 1002 (A. D. 1594); but it is doubtful whether he visited Bengal, or merely wrote down what he heard at Ágrah. I shall occasionally refer to the works of these travellers below.§

But by far the most interesting contribution to the geography of Bengal, in spite of the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., is Todar Mall's rent-roll. Though of 1582, it may be assumed that Todar Mall merely gave in it what he found to exist with regard to both divisions and revenue; for Bengal was only subjugated during Jahángir's reign, and properly assessed

* How extensively the Hindús were employed as revenue officers may be seen from the fact that the Arabic-Persian *Shiqdár* and *Majmu'ahdár* have become Bangalí family names, generally spelt 'Sikdar' and 'Mozoomdar.'

† The island opposite Tribení has a conspicuous place on De Barros' Map of Bengal and on that by Blæv (*vide* Pl. IV.). The maps also agree with Abul Fazl's statement in the *Aín*, that at Tribení there are three branches, one the Saraswatí, on which Sâtgáon lies; the other, the Ganga, now called the Húglí; and the third, the Jon or Jabuná (Jamuná). De Barros and Blæv's Maps show the three branches of almost equal thickness, the Saraswatí passing Satigum (Sâtgáon), and Chouma (Chaumuhá in Húglí District, north), and the Jabuná flowing westwards to Buram (Borhan, in the 24-Parganahs).

‡ Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 284.

§ I have not mentioned Nicolò de Conti's Travels (1419 to 1444, A. D.), because he only mentions one town in Bengal, *Cernube* on the Gauges, which Col. Yule has identified with the 'Shahr i Nau,' or 'New Town' on Sikandar Sháh's coin of 1379 (Thomas, *In. Coinage of Bengal*, Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, p. 65); but the position of this town is still a matter of doubt.

by Prince Shujá' a short time before 1658. In the *Áin* we find that Bengal proper was divided into 19 Sirkárs, and 682 Mahalls. Eight of the 19 Sirkárs, and 204 of the 682 Mahalls, have Muhammadan names. The rent-roll included both the *khálīqah* ('genuine,' *vulgo* khalsa) or crownlands, and the *aqtá* or *jágír* lands, *i. e.* lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or maintenance of troops. The distribution of the Sirkárs depended, as in the old Hindú division, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathí, and Megna, or, as the *Áin* expresses it, on the courses of the Padmáwatí, Ganga, and Brahmaputra, as will be seen from the following list of the Sirkárs.

A. Sirkárs North and East of the Ganges.

1. Sirkár Lak'hnaúti, or Jannatábád, extending from Taliágarhí (K'halgáon, Colgong) along the northern banks of the Ganges, and including a few mahalls now belonging to district Bhágálpúr and Púrniah, and nearly the whole of Máldah district. Besides Gaur, this Sirkár contained the ancient town of Rángamáti.* 66 mahalls; khalsa revenue, Rs. 471,174.†

2. Sirkár Púrniah, or Púranniah, the greater and chiefly westerly portion of the present district of Púrniah, as far as the Mahánanda.‡ 9 mahalls; revenue Rs. 160,219.

3. Sirkár Tájjpúr, extending over Eastern Púrniah east of the Mahánadá, and Western Dínájpúr. 29 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 162,096.

4. Sirkár Panjrah, so called from the Hawelí mahall Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dínájpúr, on the Atrai River, comprising the greater part of Dínájpúr district. 21 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 145,081.

5. Sirkár G'horág'hát, so called from the town of G'horág'hát or Chauk'handí on the right bank of the Karatayá, comprising portions of Dínájpúr, Rangpúr, and Bagurá (Bograh) districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Being a frontier district towards Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, it contained numerous jágír lands of Afghán chiefs and their descendants. The Sirkár produced a great deal of raw silk. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 202,077.§

6. Sirkár Bárbakábád, so called from Bárbak Sháh, king of Bengal (*vide* below), and extending from Sirkár Lak'hnaúti along the Podda to Bagurá. It comprises portions of Máldah and Dínájpúr, and a large part of Rájsháhí, and Bagurá. Its cloths were well known, especially the stuffs

* Máldah is once mentioned in the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (p. 178)—“When I [Jahángír] was prince, I had made a promise to Mír Ziyáuddín of Qazwín, a Saifí Sayyid, who has since received the title of Muçtafá Khán, to give him and his children Parganah Máldah, a well known Parganah in Bengal. This promise was now performed (A. D. 1617).”

† Akbarsháhí Rupees (1 Rupee = 40 dáms). Grant substitutes ‘Sicca Rupees,’ at 2s. 3d.

‡ It seems as if the Mahánadá, in its upper course, is often called Mahánadí. Van den Broucke calls it on his map ‘Martnade.’

§ Some MSS. have 209,577 Rs.

called *khāṣah* (the “koses” of old writers) as the *khāṣah* of Shahbāzpūr, the *ṣahan* (صحن, the ‘sanēs,’ or ‘sahnes’ of Dutch writers), and the *mūminī*. 38 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 436,288.

7. *Sirkār Bāzūhā*, extending from the preceding across the Brahmaputra into Silhaṭ, comprising portions of Rājshāhī, Bagurā, Pabnā, Maiman Singh, and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of Dhākā (Dacca).* The name ‘Bāzūhā’ is the plural of the Persian word *bāzū*, ‘an arm, a wing;’ and all mahalls in this Sirkār have the word *bāzū* after their name, which on our survey maps appears under the Bangālī form ‘Bajoo.’† 32 mahalls; revenue, the largest of all Sirkārs, Rs. 987,921. To this Sirkār belonged Dhākā, and Sherpūr Murcha, or Mihmānshāhī, south of Bagurā on the Karataya, which is several times mentioned in the Akbarnāmā as a military station. *

8. *Sirkār Silhaṭ*, adjacent to the preceding, chiefly east of the Surmā River. As will be seen below, the country was only conquered by the Muhammadans in the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continual invasions from Tiparah and Āsām. According to Marco Polo, the Āin, and the Tuzuk, Silhaṭ supplied India with eunuchs. Jahāngīr issued an edict forbidding the people of Silhaṭ to castrate boys. Like Kāmrup, Silhaṭ is also often mentioned as the land of wizards and witches, and the fame of its *jādū*, or witchcraft, is still remembered at the present day. 8 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 167,032.

9. *Sirkār Sunnārgāon*, to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, containing portions of western Tiparah, Bhaṭuā, and Noāk’hālī, subject to repeated attacks by the Rājahs of Tiparah and Arakan. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 258,283. The *Haft Iqlīm* gives Rs. 330,000.

* Stewart says that Dhākā is a modern town, “because the name does not occur in the Āin.” But it does; *vide* my text edition, p. 407, where the Mahall to which it belongs, is called Dhakkā Bāzū. In Gladwin’s spelling ‘Dukha Bazoo’ it is, however, scarcely recognizable. Dhākā occurs in the Akbarnāmā as an Imperial thānah in 1584; and Sir A. Phayre (*vide* above, p. 53) mentions it in 1400.

† Thus the country west of Pabna is called ‘Bajooras’ and east of it ‘Bajoochup’—corruptions of *Bāzū i rāst*, ‘the right wing,’ and *Bāzū i chap* ‘the left wing.’ Other corruptions are—Eaub, or Eshub, or Esop, or Isaf, for ‘Yūsuf;’ thus ‘Esubshye,’ for ‘Yūsuf-shāhī;’ Nasipore, for Nasībūr, (from Naṣīb Shāh); Nujcepore, for Najībūr; Haleeshur (opposite Tribeni) for Hālīshahr, = Hawelī i Shahr [Sātgāon]; Mahomedshye for Mahmūdshāhī, (Jessore); Bajitpore, for Bāyazīdpūr (in Dīnājpur); Juffarshye, for Zafarshāhī, (not Ja’farshāhī); Kali Modunpūr (which sounds like a Hindū name), Kalīm-uddinpūr; Paladassy, north of Bagurā, for Fūlādshāhī; Masidpore and Majidpore, for Masjidpūr (*vide* Beames, Comp. Grammar, p. 209).

In the spelling of Bengal names care should be taken with the frequent ending *daha*, ‘eddy,’ as Māldahā, spelt in Persian Māldah; but the final *h* is radical, and the name should not be spelt Māldā, as Mālwah, Rājah, &c., = Mālwā, Rājā, &c.

Aurangzib forbade by edict spellings like Mālwah, Rājah, &c.; he wanted people to spell Mālwā, Rājā.

10. Sirkár Chátgáon (Chittagong), never properly annexed before the reign of Aurangzib. 7 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 285,607.

B. Sirkárs in the Delta of the Ganges.

11. Sirkár Sátgáon. A small portion only, the land between the Húglí and the Saraswatí, lay west of the Húglí, whilst the bulk of the Sirkár comprised the modern district of the 24-Parganahs to the Kabadak, western Nadiyá, south-western Murshidábád, and extended in the south to Hatiágárh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sirkár belonged Mahall Kalkattá (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauza's, paid, in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. 53 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 418,118.

12. Sirkár Mahmúdábád, so called after one of the three Mahmúd Sháhs of Bengal, and comprising northern Nadiyá, northern Jessore, and western Faridpúr. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 290,256.

13. Sirkár Khalífatábád, or southern Jessore and western Báqirganj. The Sirkár is called after Khalífatábád, which was the name of the small Hawelí-parganah near Bágherhát (*vide* below). The largest mahall of this Sirkár was Jesar (Jessore), or Rasúlpúr; and among others, we find here the Mahalls Múndagáeha and Malikpúr, which the Khán i A'zam, when governor of Bengal under Akbar (*Áin* translation, p. 326), is said to have given to Bhabeshwar Rái, the ancestor of the present Rájahs of Jesar. The name of Jesar, therefore, occurs as early in 1582; hence Van den Broucke's map (1660) also gives it conspicuously as 'Jessore.* 35 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 135,053.

14. Sirkár Fathábád, so called after Fath Sháh, king of Bengal, comprising a small portion of Jessore, the whole of Faridpúr, southern Báqirganj, portions of Dháká district, and the Islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr, Sondíp, and Sidhú, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpúr lies in the Hawelí Parganah of Fathábád. 3 mahalls, revenue, Rs. 199,239.

15. Sirkár Baklá,† or Ismá'íl púr, north-east of the preceding, comprising portions of Báqirganj and Dháká districts. It is the *Bacala* of old maps. 4 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 178,756.

C. Sirkárs South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathí (Húglí).

16. Sirkár Audambar, or Tándah, comprising the greater portion of Murshidábád district, with portions of Bírghúm. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, *e. g.* in Kachh.‡ Tándah did not long enjoy the position of capital: Sher Sháh already had made plans to remove it

* *Vide*, however, Westland, Jessore Report, p. 29.

† The author of the *Siyarul Mutaakkharín* calls it Hoglá (هوگلا), from the Bangálí word *hoglá*, which signifies marsh reed—a name which no doubt explains the name of Húglí; but he strangely confounds Sirkár Baklá with Sirkár Sátgáon (Húglí).

‡ *Vide* Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, I, p. 248.

to Āg Mahall on the opposite bank. But this was only carried out by Rājah Mán Singh, who changed the name of Āg Mahall to Rāj Mahall, and subsequently to Akbarnagar. The same Sirkár became again in later times under Prince Shujá' the seat of government, and later still under Nawáb Ja'far Murshíd Qulí Khán, who changed the name of the old town of Makhçúqábád,* the *Muxabad* or *Muxadabad* of old maps, to Murshidábád. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 601,985. The Haft Iqlím gives its revenue at Rs. 597,570.

17. Sirkár Sh aríf á b á d, south of the preceding, comprising the remaining portions of Bír bhúm, and a large portion of Bardwán district, together with the town of Bardwán† itself. Mahalls Bárbak Singh and Fath Singh, so called after the Bengal kings Bárbak Sháh and Fath Sháh, and Sherpúr 'Atái, where Mán Singh defeated the Afgháns (Āín translation, p. 341) also belonged to this Sirkár. 26 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 562,218.

18. Sirkár Sulaimán á b á d, a straggling Sirkár, which comprised a few southern parganahs in the modern districts of Nadiyá, Bardwán, and the whole north of Húglí district. This Sirkár was so called after Sulaimán Sháh of Bengal, who also called several parganahs after himself in Murshidábád, Jessore, and Báqirganj districts; but whether the name was too long, or was purposely changed after Akbar's conquest of Bengal in honor of Prince Salím (Jahángír), it only occurs now-a-days in the form 'Salímábád.' The chief town of the Sirkár was Salímábád [Sulaimánábád], on the left bank of the Damúdar, south-east of the town of Bardwán. It is marked as 'Silimath' on Van den Broucke's map. Olá (the old name of Bír nagar) in Nadiyá, known from the Srimanta legend, and Panduah, on the E. I. Railway, with its Buddhist ruins and ancient mosques, also belong to this Sirkár. 31 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 440,749.

19. Sirkár Madáran, extending in a semicircle from Nágor in Western Bír bhúm over Rániganj along the Damúdar to above Bardwán, and from there over K'hand Ghosh, Jahánábád, Chandrakoná (Western Húglí District) to Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnaráyan River. 16 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 235,085.

Thus the above nineteen Sirkárs, which made up Bengal in 1582, paid a revenue on khalsa lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, *húts*, and

* The Akbarnámah mentions a Makhçúq Khán, brother of Sa'id Khán; *vide* my Āín translation, p. 388. Makhçúq Khán served in Bengal and Bihár, and his brother Sa'id Khán was for some time governor of Bengal.

† The Muhammadan pronunciation of the Bangálí *Bordomán*. The Haft Iqlím mentions an extraordinary custom that obtained in this Sirkár. "Feminae hujus provinciae instrumentum quoddam fictile penis instar in vulvam et in anum inferunt, ut sordes removeant. The old kings have in vain tried to break them off this habit."

Regarding the Muhammadan antiquities of Bardwán, *vide* Journal, As. Bengal, for 1871, Pt. I, p. 254.

fisheries, of 253,482,106 dáms, or Rs. 6,337,052.* According to Grant, the value of the *jágir* lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that we have, in 1582, A. D., as total revenue of Bengal, in its then circumscribed limits, the sum of Rs. 10,685,944. This was levied from the ryots in specie† as the equivalent of the *rub'*, or fourth share, of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as despotic proprietary lord of the soil.

This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahángír. The remittances from Bengal to Dihlí were, it is true, not very regular, nor up to the sums levied, so much so that Jahángír appointed, in the end of his reign, Fidái Khán, governor of Bengal, merely because he promised to send regularly one million of rupees to court. Under Sháhjahán, the boundaries of Bengal were extended in the South-West, Medinípúr and Hijli having been attached to Bengal, and in the East and North-East by conquests in Tiparah and Koch Hájo; and when Prince Shujá' was made governor, he made, shortly before 1658, a new rent-roll, which shewed 34 Sirkárs and 1350 Mahalls, and a total of revenue, on khalsa and *jágir* lands, of Rs. 13,115,907. Shujá's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the conquest of Chátgáon. In that year, Nawáb Ja'far Khán (Murshid Qulí Khán) issued his *Kámil Jama' Tūmári*, or 'Perfect Rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sirkárs, forming 13 Chaklahs, and sub-divided into 1660 Parganahs, with a revenue of Rs. 14,288,186.

It was, however, only after the rule of Nawáb Ja'far Khán that the *Abwáb* revenue‡ gradually appeared in the books. Though vast sums had been levied on this head, they had been looked upon as private emoluments of office. As early as in the tenure of Shujá' Khán, Nawáb Ja'far's successor, we find the *Abwábs* entered as yielding Rs. 2,172,952, and they rapidly increased under 'Alí Virdi Khán and Qásim Khán, so that, when the E. I. Company in 1765 acquired the Diwání, the *net* amount of all revenue collected by authority in Bengal was Rs. 25,624,223.

It is not my intention to enter here further in the historical portion of the revenue question of Bengal, nor shall I minutely describe the Sirkárs and the Mahalls or detail the historical and geographical

* Grant's total is Rs. 6,344,260, or Rs. 7,208 more, chiefly on account of the higher sum given by him for Sirkár G'horág'hát. Vth Report, p. 258.

† "The ryots (*ra'yyat*) of Bengal are obedient and ready to pay taxes. During eight months of the year they pay the required sums by instalments. They personally bring the money in rupees and goldmuhurs to the appointed place. Payment in kind is not usual. Grain is always cheap. The people do not object to a survey of the lands, and the amount of the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot (*nasay*). His Majesty, from kindness, has not altered this system." *Aín i Akbarí*.

‡ Imposts as fees on the renewal of annual leases of zamindárs (*kháṇawísí*); *nazránahs*; fees for remission of imperial revenue; *zar i mahaut*, or imposts levied for the maintenance of the Nawab's elephants; and many more.

changes that took place; these I must necessarily reserve for the second volume of my *Ain* translation. But I shall now attempt to trace the frontiers of Bengal under the Muhammadan rule as far as existing historical sources allow us to do.

The Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal.

Abulfazl estimates the breadth of Bengal from Garhī to Chátgāon at four hundred *kos*. From north to south, the longest line was from Koch Bihār to Chittúa in Sirkār Medinípúr. "The zamíndárs are mostly Káyasths." Not a word is said on the strength of the Muhammadan population, or the progress of Islám—comparative statistics were not thought of in his age. The remark made by old English travellers that the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of south-eastern Bengal were chiefly Muhammadans, and the uncertain legend regarding the introduction, in the beginning of the 16th century, of Islamitic rites into Chátgāon by Nuḡrat Sháh are the only allusions that I have seen on the subject. Neither history nor legends allude to the conversions among the semi-aboriginal rural population, that must on a large scale have taken place during the reigns of the independent kings of Bengal, chiefly, no doubt, through the exertions of the numerous Afghán Jagírdárs.

The military and naval power of the country is fixed at 23,330 horse, 4,260 guns, 1,170 elephants, and 4,400 boats. In Nawab Ja'far's rent-roll, however, the strength of the naval establishment (*nawárá*) consisted of 768 armed cruisers and boats, which were principally stationed at Dháká, to guard the coast against the Mags and foreign pirates; and the number of sailors included 923 Firingis, chiefly employed as gunners. The annual charges of the navy, including construction and repairs, was fixed at Rs. 843,452, which was levied under the name of '*amalah i nawárá*' from parganahs in South-Eastern Bengal. The same rent-roll mentions that the garrisons along the whole eastern frontier from Chátgāon to Rángámáti on the Brahmaputra consisted of 8,112 men (*ahshám*), who cost 359,180, Rs. per annum.

Of the roads in Bengal we have no information prior to Van den Broucke's map (1660) in Valentyn's work. He marks (1) a principal road passing over Patna, Munger, and Rájmahall to Sútí, where the Bhagirathí leaves the Ganges. From here a branch went to Moxudabath (Murshidábád), Plassi (Palási), and Hagdia,* crossed the Bhagirathí for Gasiapore,

* Hagdia is Agardíp. Van den Broucke's map gives here an interesting particular. He marks Hagdia on the *left* bank of the river, and Gasiapoor (Ghāzípúr) on the *right* bank. Both places lie now far from the right bank, with only a small k'hál between them, and a large semi-circular lake round both. The lake, as else-

and passed on to Bardwán, Medinipúr, Bhadrak (wrongly marked on the right bank of the Baitaraní), and Kaṭak. The other branch went from Sútí along the right bank of the Podda to Fathábád, from where it passed on to Dháká. These two branches are marked as principal roads (*sháhi rustah*). (2) A road from Bardwán to Baccaresoor (Baklesar in Bírghúm, famous for its hot springs, within the Marátha Intrenchment of Nágór), and from there to Qásimbázár and the banks of the Ganges, and across the river to 'Hasiaarhati.' This is Hajrahattí, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Burul River, below Rámpúr Boáliá, and seems to be the Qázíhattí (Beng. Kajierhattí), which Abulfazl mentions in the Áin. From Hasiaarhati the road passed to a place called Harwa, and from there to Ccerpoor Mirts, *i. e.* Sherpúr Murchah, on the Karataya, and passing over Tessiadin (Chandíjān, north of Sherpúr, ?) to Gorregaut (G'horág'hát) and Bareithela (Baritalá) on the Brahmaputra, which will be mentioned below as a frontier town. (3) A road from Bardwán over Salimábad, Hügli, Jessore, Bosnah, Fathábád, across the river to Sjatrapperpoer,* Casisella, and Idrákpúr, opposite the confluence of the Lakhiá and the Da'ásari, near Ballál Sen's palace. (4) A road from Dháká, across the Dalásari to Piaarpoer and Bedliá, which latter place is marked at the point where the Dalasari leaves the Jamuná, and from there to Sasiadpoor (Sháhzádpúr, in Pabnah), and Handiael (Hariál).*

The Western Frontier.

In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosi River; but under some of the early Muhammadan governors and the independent kings, the Bengal empire included all upper Bihár north of the Ganges as far as Sáran. Of Ilyás Sháh, for example, it is asserted that he was the founder of Hájípúr, opposite Paṭna, on the Ghandak, although Firúz Sháh, on his return from Bengal, appointed for the first time Imperial collectors in Tirhut. Sikandar Shah's coins, again, have been found far west of the Kúsi.

Southern Bihár only belonged to Bengal from the time of the conquest by Bakhtiyár Khiljí to about 730 A. H. (A. D. 1330), when Muhammad Tughluq annexed it to Dihlí. From 800 again (A. D. 1397), the whole of Bihár belonged to the kingdom of Jaumpúr. Under Buhlul again, Daryá Khán Loháni was governor of Bihár; and under Ibráhim, Daryá's son Baha-dur Khán assumed independence in Bihár under the title of Sháh Muham-

where in Bengal, is the old bed of the river, which now follows the shorter route along the chord of the loop. This change, therefore, took place after 1660.

Thus also Nadiya lies now on the right bank of the river; but west of the town, there is still the old channel, which goes by the name of Ganga Bhárat.

* Rennel gives Satrapur; but modern maps give no such name.

mad.* It is not clear how far these Afghān chiefs depended on Husain Sháh of Bengal, whom inscriptions represent firmly established in 903 at Munger, while other inscriptions from Bonhárá and Cheran (near Sárán) would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihár and the western portions of Southern Bihár belonged to him in A. H. 908 and 909 (A. D. 1502, 1503). On the other hand, we hear in history of the cession by Husain Sháh of Bihár, Sárán, and Tírhut, and of the reconquest of these lands by Nuṣrat Sháh, who, if he could not hold them, assisted the Afghans against Bábar. Nuṣrat Sháh seems even to have passed beyond the Ghandak; for a mosque near Sikandarpúr, on the right bank of the river, in District A'zamgarh, was built during his reign.

South of the Ganges, the western frontier is better defined. Fort Taliágarh, or Garhí,† near K'halgáon (Colgong) on the Ganges, was looked upon as the entrance, or key, to Bengal—a position which Muhammadan historians compare with that of Fort Sahwán on the Indus, the key of Sindh. From Garhí the frontier passed along the Ganges to the south of Ág-Mahall (Rāj Mahall), when it again turned westward to north-western Bírkhúm, passing along the boundary of the modern Santál Parganahs to the confluence of the Barákar and the Damúdar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damúdar to the neighbourhood of the town of Bardwán. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction, and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Húglí and Habrah (Howrah) Districts down to Mandalg'hát, where the Rúpnarāyan flows into the Húglí River.

This boundary, it will be seen, excludes the whole of the Santál Parganahs from the south of K'halgáon to the Barákar, Pachet,‡ and the territory of the Rájahs of Bishnpúr (Bankurá). In vain do we look in Santalia for Muhammadan names of villages and towns; and though there can be no doubt that the Muhammadan kings of Bengal tried to hold parts of the hills by establishing thánahs and appointing jágirholders, no permanent settlements were formed. One of the most westerly thánahs in southern Santalia was Sarhat, N. W. of Shiúrí (Soory) in Bírkhúm, which is mentioned in Tribení inscriptions;§ whilst the settlement of Pathán

* Called in many MSS. Mahmúd.

† It is not known which king built the fort; but it may be accidental that the name does not occur in the Ṭabaqát i Nāqirí and in Baraní. At K'halgáon, Mahmúd Sháh III., the last independent king of Bengal, died in 945 (1538 A. D.).

‡ Regarding the invasion of Chutiá Nágpúr by the Muhammadans, vide J. A. S. B., 1871, Part I, p. 111.

§ Sarhat, spelt on inscriptions Sirhat, lies on the left bank of the Ajai River. Its name on modern maps is corrupted to Saruth. Rennell has Sarhaut. Outside the place, the survey maps mark two old forts. A little to the south of it, a village of the name of Lukrakhonda is marked. Rennell on his map of Bírkhúm (Bengal Atlas,

jágírdárs, before and after the time of Sher Sháh, as a standing militia against the inroads of the tribes of Jhárk'hand (Chutiá Nágpur), led to the formation of the great Muhammadan zamíndárí of Bírghúm, which gave the E. I. Company some trouble.

In Todar Mall's rent-roll the following Mahalls are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ag Mahall (Rájmahall), Kámkjol, Kuñwar Partáb, Molesar,* in Sirkár Audambar or Tāṇḍah; Bharkúndah, Akbarsháhi, Kaṭangah, in Sharifábád (Bírghúm); Nágor, Sainbhúm, Shergarh (Rániganj), Champánagarí (N. W. of the town of Bardwán), Madáran (Jahánábád and Chandrakoná, west of Húglí), Chittúá (District Medinipur), and Mandalg'hāt, at the mouth of the Rúpnaráyan, all belonging to Sirkár Madáran.

The name of the frontier mahall of Bharkúndah in Bírghúm, mentioned above, seems to have been formerly extended to the whole of Bírghúm and the Santál Parganahs. In this extended sense, it is used in the *Tárikh i Dáúdí*,† on De Barros' map of Bengal, and on Blaeu's map of India (*vide* Pl. IV). In the latter, it is only given as 'Barcunda,' but in the former as 'Reino de Barcunda,' extending from Ferrandus (a corruption of Bardwán) to Gorij, in which we recognize Garhí, the 'key of Bengal.' West of Barcunda, De Blaeu and De Barros give 'Patanes,' *i. e.* the Patháns, the military and semi-independent landholders of the western Bengal frontier. On the Ganges, both maps shew Gouro (Gaur), and opposite to it, 'Para', for which De Barros gives 'Rara.'‡ Both spellings may be mistakes for Tara, *i. e.* Tāṇḍah, which should of course be on the other side of the river; or 'Rara' stands for the old Hindú division of Raḍha, which there commences. South of 'Ferrandus,' the old maps give 'Mandaram' and 'Cospetir,' which latter name is wrongly placed on Blaeu's map north of Mandaram, whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Mandaram we recognize Madáran, the chief town of Sirkár Madáran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants Mandáran.§ 'Cospetir,' or De

No II.) places a 'Lacaracoond,' in conspicuous letters, south of Nágor; but modern maps give no such locality. Could this be the Lak'hnúr of the Tabaqát?

* *Sábq* (*i. e.* former) Molesar and Darín Molesar. The former name is wrong spelt in the Indian Atlas (Sheet 113) Sarik Moliasser.

† Dowson, Elliot's History of India, IV., pp. 360, 364.

‡ South of Para or Rara, Blaeu and De Barros give a place of the name of Moulanadangur; and below Gouro, Patana or Patona, and Meneitipur, which I have not identified.

§ I have identified Madáran with Bhítargarh in Jahánábád, in the north-western corner of Húglí District. *Vide* Proceedings, As. Socy. Bengal, for April, 1870, where the legends of the place are given.

As the name of Jahánábád occurs in the Akbarnámah, it has no connexion with Sháhjahán's name, but refers more likely to one of the numerous Khán Jaháns of the Pathán rule.

Barros' 'Reino Cospetir,' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly 'the kingdom of the Gajpatí,' or Lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orísá, the final *r* being nothing but the ending of the Bangálí genitive. Sirkár Madáran was indeed the frontier of Orísá; but if the legends of the Húglí District speak of the Gajpatís having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Húglí River), it must have been prior to the time when Sātgaon became the seat of Muhammadan governors.

It is remarkable that among the names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we find so many ending in *bhúm*. Thus we have Bír**bhúm**;* Sain**bhúm**, along the left bank of the Ajai, in Bír**bhúm** district; Sik'har**bhúm** or Shergarh, the mahall to which Rániganj belongs; Gopíl**bhúm**, along the right bank of the Ajai; Báman**bhúm** or Bráhma**bhúm**, in northern Medinípúr District; Mán**bhúm**, Bará**bhúm**, Dhal**bhúm**, Sing**bhúm**, in Chutiá Nágpúr; Tún**bhúm**, in southern Paráliá; Mal**bhúm**, the frontier of Bardwán and Medinípúr Districts; Bhanjib**bhúm**, with the town of Medinípúr,† &c. Similarly, the frontier district between Rangpúr and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahalls Bhitarband and Báhirband, is called in Shujá's rent-roll 'Bangál**bhúm**.'

I mentioned Mahall Mandalg'hát at the confluence of the Rúpnaráyan and the Húglí as the south-western frontier of Bengal. The Districts of Medinípúr and Hijlí (south-east of Medinípúr) were therefore excluded. They belonged to the kingdom of Orísá till A. H. 975, or A. D. 1567,‡ when Sulaimán, king of Bengal, and his general Kálá Pahár defeated Mukund Deb, the last Gajpatí. Even after the Afghán conquest, Medinípúr and Hijlí continued to belong to the province of Orísá, when Khán Jahán Afghán was appointed by Dáúd Sháh governor of Orísá, Qutlú Khán Lohání being made governor of Púrí. On the 20th Zí Qa'dah, 982, (3rd March, 1575) Mun'im KhánKhánán, Akbar's general, defeated Dáúd Sháh at Tukarói or Mughulmári, north of Jalesar, and in the peace of Kaṭak, in the beginning of 983, Bihár and Bengal were ceded. In 984, Dáúd again invaded Lower Bengal, but was defeated and killed on the 15th Rabí' II, 984, near Ág Mahall by Husain Qulí Khán Jahán, when Bengal was again annexed to Dihlí, and the Afgháns withdrew to Orísá. Then the Bengal Military Revolt broke out, and Orísá was invaded, in A. H. 1000, (A. D. 1592) by Mán Singh, when the country was finally annexed to the Dihlí empire. Hence Medinípúr and Hijlí appear

* The name occurs in the *Kín* as a Mahall; but as name for a large division it does not seem to have been used before the 18th century.

† The *Kín* also mentions a mahall Bhowál**bhúm** under Sirkár Madáran; modern maps do not give this name.

‡ So according to the *Akbarnámah*. Stirling fixes an earlier date; but Sulaimán reigned from A. H. 975 to 980. Besides, Akbar sent in 972-973 ambassadors to Mukund Deb.

together in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 5 Sirkárs of the province of Orisá. Subsequently, Orisá had separate governors; but under Prince Shujá' their power was lessened, and the portion from Mandalg'hát to Baleswar (Balasore) was separated from Orisá and permanently attached to Bengal.*

Hijlî (*Hidgelee*, *Hedjelee*, Grant; *Hingeli*, Van den Broucke; *Ingellee*, Rennell; *Injeelee*, Stewart, Marshman; *Angeli*, Purchas, De Laët, &c.) appears in the Ain under the name of Máljhattá. According to the legends preserved in the District, the Muhammadans first attempted a settlement during the reign of Husain Sháh of Bengal, about A. D. 1505, when one Táj Khán Masnad i 'Alí and his brother Sikandar Pahlawán established themselves at the mouth of the Rasulpúr River,† opposite Ságár Island. They conquered the whole of Hijlî, which is said to have remained in the family for nearly eighty years, when it passed into the possession of a Hindú. As late as 1630 we hear of the conquest of Hijlî. "Hingeli, which had for many years a chief of its own, was conquered about 1630 by the Great Mogul; but in 1660, the lawful chief of Hingeli, who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means to escape, and with the help of his own to re-conquer his country. But he did not long enjoy it: he was in 1661 brought into Aurangzeb's power with the help of the E. I. Company [the Dutch Company], and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first."‡

The Southern Frontier.

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal was the northern outskirt of the Sundarban, which extended, generally speaking, in the same manner almost as it now does, from Hatiágarh, south of Diamond Harbour on the Húglí,

* "Sjah Sousa had already during his time divided Hingeli from Orisa, and had put there a separate governor, and it is for this reason alone that Hingeli, which by position belongs to Orisa, has been attached to Bengal. So it is also with the governors of Ballasour and Pipeli [Piplí or Sháhbandar, now deserted, on the Subarnarekhá River], which the Great Mogul ordered once to be under the governor of Orisa and then again under the governor of Bengal, because the two places are close to the sea." F. Valentyn, Vol. V.

Van den Broucke's map of Bengal in 1660, given by Valentyn, still shews north-west of the town of Medinípúr the "Gedenkteeken," or memorial stone, (corresponding to the 'Old Tower' of modern maps) that marked the frontier between Bengal and Orisá. Grant says that the coast of Hijlî and Medinípúr as far as Balasore (Baleswar) was attached to Bengal on account of the Mags and the Portuguese privateers, who were to some extent controlled by the Imperial fleet stationed at Dháká.

† Few rivers in India have Muhammadan names. Due south of Contai the maps give a village of the name of Masnad 'Alípúr. Táj Khán's tomb is on the Rasulpúr River.

‡ From Valentyn's work, Vol. V. The 'Alamgírnamáh says nothing about it.

to Bágherhat in southern Jessore and to the Haring'hátá (Horingotta), or 'Deer-shore River;' *i. e.* along the southern mahalls of Sirkárs Sātgaon and Khalifatábád. Beyond the Haring'hátá and its northern portion, called the Madhúmatí or 'honey-flowing,' the frontier comprised Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, the modern districts of Faríd-púr and Baqirganj (north). Sirkár Fathábád included the islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr and Sondíp, at the mouth of the Megna. Tiparah, Bhaluah, Noak'háli, and District Chátgaon, were contested ground, of which the Rájahs of Tiparah and Arakan were, at least before the 17th century, oftener masters than the Muhammadans. It was only after the transfer of the capital from Rájmahall to Dháká, that the south-east frontier of Bengal was extended to the Phani River, which was the imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzib's reign, when Chátgaon was permanently conquered, assessed, and annexed to 'Cúbah Bangálah.'

Various etymologies have been proposed in explanation of the word 'Sundarban.' It has been derived from *sundar* and *ban*, 'the beautiful forest;' or from *sundarí*, a small timber tree (*Heretiera litoralis*), which is exported as fuel in vast quantities from the coast and is supposed to have been so called from its red wood. Others again have derived the word from Chandradíp-ban, or Chandradíp forest, from the large zamindárá of Chandradíp, which occupies the south and south-east of Bágirganj District. Or, the name has been connected with the Chandabhandás,* an old Sundarban tribe. Grant derives it from Chandraband, 'the embankment of the moon,' which seems to have been the etymology that obtained at his time, and which has led to the spelling 'Soonderbund' adopted by Europeans.

The application of the name to the whole seacoast of southern Bengal is modern. Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megna 'Bhátí,' or 'low land subject to the influx of the tide,' and even now-a-days this name is very generally used. The sovereignty of this district, according to the Akbarnámah and the Rájah Pratápaditya legend, was divided among twelve chiefs; and Col. Wilford, whatever may have been the source of his information, says that "the kings of Arakan and Comillá were constantly striving for the mastery, and assumed the title of lords of the twelve Bhúniyás."†

The sea coast itself is marked on Van den Broucke's map in Valentyn's work as 'onbekent,' or 'unknown,' consisting of numerous islands and

* A copper plate grant in the possession of the Society, found at 'Ádilpúr (Edilpore), mentions that the villages of Baguli, Bittogálá, and Udayamuna, were given, in the third year of the reign of Keshab Sen, *i. e.* in 1136 A. D., to one Jovaradeb Sarma. The grant mentions the tribe of the Chandabhandas. The reading Chandabhandas, as Bábn Pratápadchandra Ghosh informs me, is an improved reading for Chattabhatta, as the name was read by Gobind Ram; *vide* Journal, 1838, Vol. VII, p. 40.

† *As. Researches*, XIV, p. 451.

rivers, 'peryculeous' for ships, being the place where the "Jagt ter Shelling"* founded in 1661.

In order to trace the direction of the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, as it existed some time before 1582 A. D., we have again recourse to Todar Mall's rent-roll in the *Āin*. There we find that Mahall Hattāgarh (below Diamond Harbour) was, in 1582, the most southerly assessed mahall of Sirkār Sātgāon. The jungle boundary then passed north-east to Baridhattī and Medinimall, north-west of Port Canning, to Bālinḍā and Māhihattī (Myehattee), then south again to Dhuliápūr,† and Bhalukā to the Kabadak River. These mahalls belong to what is now called the 24-Parganahs; and Sheet 121 of the Indian Atlas of the Survey Department will shew that they lie even now-a-days very little north of the present northern limit of the Sunderban in the 24-Parganahs. Going up the Kabadak, in Jessore, we come to Āmadī,‡ to the north of which, in the immediate neighbourhood, we have Masidkoor, a corruption of Masjidkur, one of the clearances of Khān Jahān (died A. D. 1459),§ the warrior saint of Khalīfatābād or Southern Jessore, to whom the traditions of the present day point as an indefatigable establisher of Sundarban-ābādīs (clearances.) The *Āin* then gives Mahall Tālā, with Tālā on the left bank of the Kabadak as chief town and Kopilmuni|| near it, and then mahalls Sāhas, Khāliḥpūr, Charūliā, Rangdiyā (wrongly called in the Indian Atlas *Sangdia*) and Salīmābād,¶ north of the modern Morrellganj at the beginning of the Haring'hātā. North-west of Morrellganj, on the Bhairab (the 'dreadful'), we have the small station of Bāgherhāt, which gives name to a Sub-Division, and in its immediate neighbourhood we come to another clearance by the patron-saint of Jessore, where his mosque and tomb stand. It is the country round about Bāgherhāt which up to the end of last century bore the name given it in the *Āin*, 'Hawelī Khalīfatābād,' the 'Vicegerent's clearance.' Here, amidst the creeks and the jungles, which no horseman can approach, Nuḥrat Shāh, as will be seen below, erected a mint, apparently in opposition to his father 'Alāuddīn Husain Shāh.**

* *Vide* Mr. Foster's article, *Journal, As. Socy. Bengal*, 1872, Part I, p. 36.

† North of Ishwarīpūr (Issuripore), the residence of Pratāpaditya.

‡ Marked wrongly on the Survey map Āmadi. Rennell has correctly Āmadī.

§ Westland, Jessore Report, p. 20; Gaur Dās Baisākh, *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, 1867, pp. 130, 131; also, *Journal*, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

|| Rash Bihārī Bose, *J. A. S. Bengal*, 1870, Part I, p. 235; Westland, Jessore Report, Chapt. VI, and p. 286.

¶ Here also the *Āin* has the form Sulaimānābād.

** It is curious that a little higher up on the Bhairab, east of Khulnā, where the Athārabanḱa (the 'eighteen windings') joins the Bhairab, there is an 'Alāfpūr, i. e. 'Alāuddīn's town. Were it not for the distinct statement of the *Riyāzussalḥīn* that 'Alāuddīn, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a Chandpūr (a very

Thus we see that in southern Jessore also the northern limit of the Sundarban has not considerably changed since 1450 A. D.

Passing from the Haring'hátá eastward, we come to Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád. Sirkár Baklá only contained four mahalls, *viz.* Ismá'íl-púr or Baklá; Srirámpúr; Sháhzádpúr; and 'Ádíl-púr, (from 'ádíl' just, corrupted on the maps to Edilpore), which all belong to Báqirganj District. Abulfazl, in speaking of the great cyclone that swept in 1583 over Baklá, says that the then zamindár of Baklá had a son of the name of Pramánand Rái. Sirkár Fathábád derives its name from the Hawelí mahall Fathábád, in which the modern station of Farídpúr lies. Yúsufpúr and Belp'húli, in Jessore District; Hawelí Fathábád and Sirdiá (Sherdia), in Farídpúr; Balaur, Telhattí, Saráil or Jalálpúr,* Khargapúr, in both Farídpúr and Dháká; Hazratpúr, in Dháká; Rasúlpúr, in Dháká and Báqirganj; the Islands of Sondíp and Shahbázpúr; and a few other mahalls which I have not yet identified, belong to this Sirkár. Thus we see that the greater portion of both Sirkárs lies between the Haring'hátá (Madhúmatí) and the Tituliá River, which flows between Báqirganj District and the island of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr. At the mouth of the Tituliá we find the Don Manik Islands, one of the few still surviving geographical names of the Portuguese.† Opposite to these islands we have mahall Názi-r-púr, which we find on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu, placed rather far to the north. Near it, we also have 'Fatiabas',‡ the chief town of Sirkár Fathábád. The whole south and south-east of Báqirganj District is occupied by the old Chandradíp zamindári, which according to some, as we saw above, gives name to the Sundarban. On Rennell's map it is marked 'depopulated by the Mugs.'

Abulfazl says that there were in Sirkár Fathábád three classes of zamindárs, which perhaps refers to the independent Afghán, Hindú, and Portuguese chiefs. When Akbar's army, in 1574, under Mun'im Khán-Khánán invaded Bengal and Orísá, Murád Khán, one of the officers, was despatched to South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the

common name) in Rádhá District, *i. e.* west of the Húglí, I would be inclined to identify the Chandpúr near this 'Aláipúr as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal kings had its home, especially because Husain first obtained power in the adjacent district of Farídpúr (Fathábád), where his earliest coins are struck.

The Indian atlas (sheet No. 121) spells 'Aláipúr 'Alypore,' which blots out every historical recollection, and places it moreover wrongly on the right bank, instead of on the left, of the Athárabanká. 'Aláipúr is a flourishing place and has numerous potteries.

* Which, like the name of the Sirkár, reminds us of *Jaláluddín Fath Sháh*.

† Their names for Húglí (Porto Piqueno) and for Chátgáon (Porto Grande) are no longer known; but Sherpúr Firingí, Firingibázár, Point Palmyras, still remind us of their former importance in this part of India.

‡ Van den Broucke's map has wrongly Fathpúr.

Akbarnámah, Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, and settled there ; but after some time, he came into collision with Mukund, the powerful Hindú zamíndár of Fathábád and Bosnah, who, in order to get rid of him, invited him to a feast and murdered him together with his sons.* This notice helps us to explain a remark made by Grant that in Sháh Shujá's rent-roll (1658) a portion of Sundarban land had for the first time been assessed at Rs. 8,454, the ábádís being called Murádkhánah.† The name of Mukund still lives in the name of the large island 'Char Mukundia' in the Ganges opposite Farídpúr. This Mukund is the same zamíndár whom the Pádisháhnámah wrongly calls 'Mukindra of Bosnah.' His son Satrjít gave Jahángír's governors of Bengal no end of trouble, and refused to send in the customary *peskkash* or do homage at the court of Dháká. He was in secret understanding with the Rájahs of Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, and was at last, in the reign of Sháhhahán, captured and executed at Dháká (about 1636, A. D.) One of his descendants, or successors in the zamíndarí, is the notorious Sítarám Rái of Mahmúdpúr.‡

Another Zamíndár of Fathábád is mentioned in the beginning of Sháhhahán's reign, Majlis Báyzíd,—by his very name an Afghan.

The Parganahs to the south of Báqirganj are called on the maps 'Boozorgoomedpore' and 'Arungpore,' which names are connected with Buzurg Umed Khán, son of Sháístah Khán (Aurangzib's governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1677) and with Aurangzib, 'Arang' being a corruption of Aurang. East of these two Parganahs we have Sháístah-nagar.§ These names, though they do not perhaps shew when the mahalls were reclaimed, point to the time when they came for the first time on the Imperial rent-roll.

Sirkár Fathábád, as stated above, comprised the islands of Dak'hin-Shahbázpúr, S o n d í p, &c. Of the latter island we have a short notice by Caesar Frederick, the Venetian merchant, who travelled in Asia, as he himself says, from 1563 to 1581. He left Pegú for Chatigan (Chátgáon), "between

* *Aín translation*, p. 374.

† Grant derives the name from *murád* and *khánah*, the 'house of desire;' but there is little doubt that we should derive it from Murád Khán, 'Murád Khán's clearance.' I do not know to what part of Báqirganj or Farídpúr the name was applied. Grant also says that Murád Khánah was sometimes called *Jerádkhanah*.

‡ *Journal, As. Socy. Bengal*, for 1872, Part I, pp. 58, 59. Satrjít's name occurs in the name of the town of Satrjítpúr on the Noboganga, in north-eastern Jessore, not far from Mahmúdpúr (wrongly called Mahomedpore on all modern maps) on the Madhúmatí and from the old town of Bosnah, on the Alangk'hálí [Ellenkallí] Branch. *Vide* Westland's Jessore Report, p. 32.

§ Sháístah Khán's real name is Mírzá Abú Tálíb; hence we find in Dháká District a Tálíbábád. Núr Jahán was Sháístah Khán's aunt; *vide Aín translation*, p. 612.

which two places there was much commerce in silver,”* but “encountered a ‘Touffon’ (*túfán*, cyclone), which take place in the East Indies every ten or twelve years ; they are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible but to those that have seen it,” and was driven to Sondíp. “And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a-land : presently they made a place of *bazar*, or a market, with shops right over against the ship, with all manner of provision to eate, which they brought down in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapness thereof. I bought many salted kine there for the provision of the ship for half a *Larine* apiece, which *Larine*† may be 12 shillings 6 pence, being very good and fat ; and 4 wilde hogges ready dressed for a *Larine* ; great fat hennes for a *Bizze* [pice] a piece, which is at the most a penny : and the people told us that we were deceived the half of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sack of rice for a thing of nothing ; and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seen it. This Island is called *Sondiva*, belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had been a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all.”

Ralph Fitch also was about the same time in south-eastern Bengal. He says, “From Chatigan in Bengala I came to *Bacola* [*Sirkár Baklá*] ; the king whereof is a Gentile [*Hindú*], a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked except a little cloth about their waste. The women wear great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and arnes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

“From *Bacola* I went to *Serrepore*,‡ which standeth upon the river Ganges, the king is called Choudery. They be all here abouts rebels against their king Zebaldim Echebar :§ for here are so many rivers and islands,

* The export of silver from *Pogú* to Bengal may have supplied the Bengal mints with silver. Sir A. Phayre and Dr. T. Oldham speak of the export of gold from Burma to the Coromandel coast. Considerable quantities of silver may also have come from *Ásám*, where silverpieces even for small fractions of a rupee were current.

† *Lárf* (لاری). *Aín translation*, pp. 23, 37. It is so called from *Láristán* in Persia.

‡ *Sherpúr Firingí*, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of *Idrákpúr*, on the *Dalásarí*, in *Parganah Bikrampúr*, where *Rájá Ballál Sen*'s residence was. It is not given on modern maps.

§ The first *b* is a constant misprint for *l*: *Jaláluddín Akbar*.

that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

“*Sinnergan* [*Sunnárgaon*] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called Isacan,* and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. *** I went from Serrepore the 28th November 1582 for Pegu.”

Sondip was only conquered in the end of 1666 (middle of *Jumáda II.*, 1076), when *Diláwar Khán Zamíndár* submitted, though not without fighting, to *Aurangzib's* army that invaded *Chátgáon*.

I have a few words to say on the hypothesis which has often been started, that the whole of the *Sundarban* was once in a flourishing condition. No convincing proof has hitherto been adduced; and I believe, on physical grounds, that the supposition is impossible. The sporadic remains of tanks, gháts, and short roads, point to mere attempts at colonization. The old Portuguese and Dutch maps have also been frequently mentioned as affording testimony that the *Sundarban*, even up to the 16th century, was well cultivated; and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five *Sundarban* towns *Pacaculi*, *Cuipitavaz*, *Noldy*, *Dipuria* (or *Dapara*), and *Tiparia*, which are placed on the maps of *De Barros*, *Blaev*, and *Van den Broucke* close to the coast-line, has inclined people to believe that they represent “lost towns.” Now the first of these five towns, from its position, belongs to the *Sundarban* of the 24 *Parganahs*, and the second (*Cuipitavaz*) to that of *Jessore District*, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. But *Pacaculi* is either, as *Col. Gastrell* once suggested to me, a mistake for *Pacacuti*, *i. e.* *pakká koṭ'hí*,† a factory or warehouse, erected by some trading company, as we find several along the *Húglí*; or it stands for *Penchakuli*, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the *Damúdar*, or a little above the northern limit of the *Sundarban*. *Cuipitavaz* I have no hesitation to identify with *Khalífatábád*.§ *Van den Broucke* also places it correctly south-east of *Jessore*. *Noldy* is the town and mahall of *Noldi* (*Naldí*) on the *Noboganga*, east of *Jessore*, near the *Madhúmatí*. *Dipuria* is *Dapara*, or *Daspara*, south-east of *Báqirganj* station, near the right bank of the *Tituliá*, still prominently marked on *Rennell's* map; and *Tiparia* cannot stand for anything else but the district of *Tiparah*, which is correctly placed north-east of *Daspara*.

* *'Isá Khán*. *Abul Fazl* calls him ‘king of *Bhátí*,’ and says that twelve *zamíndárs* were under him. He was powerful enough to make war with *Koch Bihár*. *Vide Aín translation*, p. 342, note.

† *Westland*, *Jessore Report*, p. 231.

‡ Houses are either *kachchá* [mud-houses], or *pakká*, brick or stone-built.

§ The letter *f* often turns in *Bangáli* to *p*; hence *Khalífatábád* becomes *Kolípít-ábád*. Thus *Firúzpur* becomes *Perojepore*.

The old Portuguese and Dutch maps, therefore, prove nothing. They support the conclusion which I drew from Todar Mall's rent-roll, that in the 24-Parganahs and Jessore the northern limit of the Sundarban, omitting recent clearances, was in the fifteenth century much the same as it is now. But considerable progress must have been made in Báqirganj District, as we see from the numerous accessions, during that period, to the Imperial rent-roll.

Of other names given on old maps along the southern boundary of Bengal, we have (above Noldy) Nao Muluco (?), Buram (Borhun, in the 24-Parganahs); Maluco (Bhaluká, on the Kabadak, ?); west of them, Agrapara and Xore, (Agrapára and Dak'hineshor, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Húglí, Abegaca, which seems to be some Ámgáchha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambiká (Kalnah); Bernagar, which should be Barnagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; Betor (?) as on Blaeu's map, and Belor, (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Húglí District, Sjanabath (Jahán-ábád); Sjandercona (Chandrakoná); Cannacoel (Kánákul); Deniachali (Dhonek'háli); Caatgam (Sátgáon); Tripeni (Trípaní, the Muhammadan form of Tribení); Pandua (Panđuah); Sjanegger; Basanderi (the old mahall Basandhari), where Van den Broucke makes the remark, 't *Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexandre M. gestuyt werd*, 'the bush Sanderie where Alexander the Great was stopped!'

Again, along the lower Ganges the old maps have Bícaram (Bikram-púr, south of Dháká); Belhaldy; Angara (Angaria, at the confluence of the Kirtinásá and the Megna); Sornagam (Sunnárgáon); Dacca; Mularangue;* Bunder (Bandar, 'harbour'); Nazirpur, mentioned above; Bulnei or Bulnee, ?; Guacala or Gucala, perhaps a mistake for Bacala; Noorkuly or Noricoel, as Van den Broucke gives it, (Noríkol, due south of Dháká, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinásá); Sundiva (Sondíp Island); Jugadia (Jogdiah in Noák'háli near the Little Phaní, mentioned in the '*Álamgírnámah* as an Imperial thánah, and often quoted as the seat of English and French factories in the eighteenth century); Traquetea, ?; Maua, or Moua, and Alvia, for which Van den Broucke gives Mava and Alvia, ?; Jefferi, on Van den Broucke's map, the same as Rennell's Jeffri, at the mouth of the Phaní, right bank.

The coast of Arakan on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu is broken up into numerous islands as the Sundarban coast: it looks as if some of them belonged to Bengal. Thus we find Bulua and Bacala, which must refer to Bhaluah in south Tiparah and Baklá. Chokuria may be identified with Chukuria, marked on modern maps opposite Maskal Island, on the Mamorí

* As this place is marked on an island south-west of Dháká, it seems to be Múl-nadángí in the south of Char Mukundiá.

River, as thánah and saltgolah; but the names Irabu, Maoa (perhaps a mere repetition of the Maua given above), Santatoly, Orieton, are unknown to me.

Blaev's map (Pl. IV) and the Chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul by N. Sausson (A. D. 1652) give opposite Chatigam (Chittagong) a town, called Bengala or Bengola. Purchas (a compiler who never came to India) says in his 'Pilgrims,' "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala are faire Cities. Of this, the Gulfe, sometimes called *Gangeticus*, now beareth name *Golfo di Bengala*." Rennell, in his 'Memoir,' mentions the town as being given "in some ancient maps and books of travels; but no traces of such a place exist." But he says that it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganges, and that it may have been carried away by the river (Ganges?). Lately also, a writer in Mookerjea's Journal (Dec. 1872), Mr. H. J. Rainey, published an imaginative account of the submersion of this now lost city, which in his opinion had given name to the kingdom of Bengal. But the town is nowhere mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor by Ibn Batútah, Caesar Frederick, and Ralph Fitch who were in Chátgáon, nor by De Barros and Van den Broucke. The probability, therefore, is that no such town ever existed, and that the name was put on Blaev's map from Purchas's statement; or else the name 'Bengola' is a mere corruption of what we call a 'Bungalow' (بنگلہ, *bāngulah*), or a 'Flagstaff Bungalow,' of which we find several marked on District maps of Chittagong along the Karanphúli River, as early as on Rennell's chart. However, this mysterious town is not to be identified with the place 'Dianga' given by Van den Broucke half way between Chittagong and Rammoe (Rámú, or Rambú*), because Dianga is the Dak'hindángá or the Brahmandángá, both on the Sangú River, south of Chátgáon, where saltgolahs still exist.†

Regarding the State of Codavaseam, which the old maps place east and north-east of Chátgáon, *vide* Wilford's Essay, As. Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 450.

The province of Chátgáon was no secure possession, and seems to have been alternately in the hands of the kings of Bengal, the Rájahs of Tiparah, and the kings of Arakan. In 750 A. H. (A. D. 1350), about which year Ibn Batútah was in Chátgáon,‡ it belonged to king Fakhruddín of Sunnárgháon. That year falls within the reign of the Arakanese king Meng-di, who is said to have reigned from A. D. 1279 to 1385, or 106 years,§ when the king of Thu-ra-tan (Bengal), called Nga-pu-kheng, courted

* The most south-easterly point to which the Mughuls advanced.

† The word 'dángá,' which occurs so often in geographical names in Bengal, signifies 'high land'.

‡ Called in Leo's translation مسدكوان. Regarding Fakhruddín *vide* below.

§ *Vide* Sir A. P. Phayro's History of Arakan, Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1844, p.

45. Thu-ra-tan Sir Arthur Phayro identifies with Sunnárgháon.

his alliance. About 1407, again, the king Meng-tsau-mwun fled to Bengal, and witnessed the war between Rájah Káns and Jaunpúr. He was ultimately restored to his throne with the help of Bengal troops; but he became "tributary to the king of Thu-ra-tan, and from this time the coins of the Arakan kings bore on the reverse their names and titles in the Persian character. This custom was probably first made obligatory upon them as vassals; but they afterwards continued it *when they had recovered their independence, and ruled the country as far as the Brahmaputra River. Meng-tsau-mwun, having got rid of his allies, meditated a change of capital.*"

In 1512, Chátgáon was conquered, according to the Ráj Málá,* by the Rájah of Tiparah, who drove away Husain Sháh's garrison. Whether the Rájah of Tiparah kept it for any time is doubtful; for in 1517, "John de Sylvera was invited by the king of Arakan, and he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king's dominions.†" Anyhow, we can now understand why Nuçrat Sháh, Husain Sháh's son, should have invaded Chátgáon;‡ but although popular belief ascribes to his invasion the first Muhammadan settlements in the District, it is clear from the preceding that his invasion cannot have been the first.

It is not known how the District was again lost; but during the troubles of Sher Sháh's revolution, the Mughul invasion, the aggressions of the Portuguese, and the Bengal Military Revolt, Chátgáon did not belong to Bengal. If, therefore, Todar Mall in 1582 included it in his rent-roll, he did so on the principle on which he included Kalinga Dandpot and Sirkár Rájahmandrí in the rent-roll of Orísá.§

The Eastern Frontier.

The eastern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal extended from Sunnár-gáon and the Megna (but in Sháhjahán's reign, from the Phaní River over southern and western Tiparah) northward, and then passed to the east including the District of Silhat. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills to Mahall Sherpúr in northern

* Journal, A. S. Bengal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, pp. 545, 546.

† Vide Sir A. Phayro's History of Pegu, J. A. S. B., 1873, pt. I, 127.

‡ For particulars vide my extract from the *Táríkh-i-Hamdí* in Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 336.

§ "From Satagam [Sátgáon-Húglí] I travelled by the country of the king of Tipara, with whom the Mogen [Mags] have almost continual warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon [Rakhaing, Arakan] and Ramo [Rámú], be stronger than the king of Tipara, so that Chatigan, or Porto Grando, is often times under the king of Recon." *Ralph Fitch.*

Muhammadan historians spell the word 'Rakhaing' رڤڤڤڤ, *Rakhang*, or give the still shorter form رڤڤ, *Rukh*, whence De Laët's "Roch, on the borders of Bengala."

Maimansingh ^{at} to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmárá, and from here along the river to Mahall Bhítarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The sirkárs that lay along the boundary were Sunnárgáon, Bázuhá, Silhaṭ, and G'horághát; and the neighbouring countries to the east were Tiparah, Kachhár (the old Hirumba), the territories of the independent Rájahs of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills, and, on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, the Karibárá Hills, the zamíndárs of which were the Rájahs of Sosang. They depended in reality on the powerful kingdom of Koch Hájo,* the 'Azo' or 'Asoe' of old maps, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kámráp. In the Karibárá Hills, the Muhammadans possessed, opposite to Chilmárá, the old frontier thánah Hatsilah, which Rennell still marks as 'Hautchella.' The north-eastern frontier was never absolutely fixed. Baritalah, on Van den Broucke's map *Bareitholla*, was looked upon as a frontier town till the beginning of Aurang-zib's reign.

The invasions on the part of the Asamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Ásám, which had commenced under the successors of Bakhtyár Khiljí. During the reigns of Rájah Káns and his son, the Asamese under Chudangpha (A. D. 1414 to 1425) conquered north-eastern Bengal as far as the Karataya;† and as about the same time Jaunpúr was at the height of its power, successfully encroaching on the western frontier, and the Rájahs of Tiparah made likewise invasions,‡ we may assume that Bengal under the kings of the Káns dynasty was most circumscribed. With the restoration of the Ilyás Sháhí dynasty (about A. D. 1440) and the gradual downfall of Jaunpúr, Bengal recovered her ancient limits, and entered upon her most flourishing period. The invasion of Husain Sháh into Kámráp is well known;§ but Kámráp was only permanently annexed in 1637, when Gauhattí became the north-eastern frontier of Bengal.

Silhaṭ, as we shall see below, was conquered in A. D. 1384, and the earliest inscription hitherto found there, belongs to the reign of Yúsuf Sháh (A. D. 1480). North-western Silhaṭ had the name of Láúḍ, or Láúṛ, and the thánah which the Muhammadans established there, was under the commander of the 'Iqlím Mu'azzamábád,' 'the territory of Mu'azzamábád,' also called 'Mahmúdábád.' The exact extent of Mu'azzamábád is still unknown; but the name occurs on coins and on Sunnárgáon inscriptions, once in conjunction with Láúṛ, and once with Tiparah, and it seems, therefore, as if the "iqlím" extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and

* *Vide* Journal, A. S. Bengal, Part I, 1872, p. 53.

† So according to the Ásám Búranjí; *vide* Useful Tables, p. 273.

‡ Rájmalá, J. A. S. B., XIX, 1850, p. 542.

§ J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, pp. 79, 335.

the right bank of the Surmá. In the *Áin*, we find, indeed, under Sirkár Sunnárghaon, a Mahall Mu'azzampúr, the chief town of which lies between the Brahmaputra and the Lak'hia and bears the same name. The present inhabitants, as Dr. Wise tells me, know nothing of its ancient renown; and the only old building is a ruinous dargáh, called after a saint Sháh Langar, the impression of whose foot draws crowds of pilgrims about the time of the I'd ulfiṣṭr festival. The saint is said to have come from Egypt.

The thánah Láúṛ is also mentioned in the *Áin* as a Mahall of Sirkár Silhaṭ, which consisted of Partábgarh; Panchkhand; Banyáchang; Bajúá Bayájú (?); Jaintiá; Haweli Silhaṭ; Satrk'handal; Láúṛ;* and Harinagar. The author of the *Haft Iqlím* calls Silhaṭ repeatedly سريهاٹ *Srihaṭ*, and this forms explains perhaps the 'Reino Sirote,' which De Barros and Blaeu give instead of 'Silhaṭ' (*vide* Pl. IV). The town of Sirote is correctly placed on the right bank of the Surmá, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of both names.

Kámrúp, which also appears under the names of Kámírúd, Kámru, and Kánpwru, is often mentioned together with Kámatá.† The Brahmaputra which Ibn Batúṭah calls the 'Blue River', is correctly described by the old traveller as coming from the mountains of Kámru. De Barros, however, and Blaeu give the river the name of Caor, and show it as flowing from the Reino de Caor, north of Comota and Sirote. Wilford identifies Caor with "Gcḍa or Gaur, *i. e.* Gorgáñw," meaning G'hargáon, the capital of A'sám. But G'hargáon (which is the correct spelling) was only built by Chu-klunpha, between A. D. 1549 and 1563, *i. e.* at a time when the materials had long been sent to Europe from which De Barros in Lisbon wrote his book. It seems, therefore, more natural to compare 'Caor' either with 'Gaur,' the old name of northern Silhaṭ, and which under the form of Gor is placed by Blaeu north of Bengal, or with the name of the Gáros who inhabit the hills near the bend of the Brahmaputra.‡

The south-east frontier was Tiparah, or Tripura, spelt on old Muhammadan inscriptions *Tipúrah*, whence perhaps the form Tipora given by De Barros and Blaeu. Abulfazl, in the *Áin i Akbari*, says—"Tiparah is independent; its king is Bijai Mánik. The kings all bear the name of Mánik,§

* So at least according to some MSS. *Vide* my text edition, p. 406, where ستركهندل is a misprint for ستركهندل. Láúṛ lies at the foot of the hills.

† For Kámatá *vide* below. Husain Sháh is said to have invaded Kámru and Kámatá; and the *Áin* says, Kámru and Kámatá are in the possession of the Rájah Koch Bihár.

‡ Regarding Wilford's identification of Sirote, *vide* Asiatic Researches, XIV, pp. 387, 436. The places which Blaeu gives between Gor and Caor, as Kanduana, Mowat, &c., are mentioned below.

§ According to the Rájmalá, the kings of Gaur had conferred this title on the Tiparah Rájahs. It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancy between the Rájmalá and the *Áin* as regards the time when Bijai Mánik reigned. According to the *Áin*

and the nobles that of Náráyan." The military power was estimated at 200,000 foot and 1,000 elephants; and numerous invasions of Silhaṭ and Sunnárgáon by the Rájahs of Tiparah are mentioned in the Rájmalá. The old capital was Udaipúr, or Rángámáti, on the left bank of the Gúnti. Hence Van den Broucke speaks of 'Oedapoer and Tipera';* but on his map he places between Tipera and the Brahmaputra, above Bolua, the "Ryk van Udesse," which is not marked on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. As he does not mention Udesse in his text, the name is either a mistake for Udaipúr, or he has been misled by his countryman De Laët, who says, "Udessa, or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jekanat or Jekanat, the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Mag kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians," and who thus places Orísá (Oḍesá) and Jagarnáth near Arakan.

The western and southern portions of Tiparah are included in Todor Mall's rent-roll in Sirkár Sunnárgáon; but they were only conquered, according to Grant, in Sháhljahán's reign; and in A. D. 1728, we hear of a re-conquest, when the district was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Raushanábád.

Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jájnaḡar, which Stewart, Stirling, Dowson, and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson, however, also apply the name to a portion of Orísá, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jájpúr, north-east of Kaṭak, on the Baitaraní. Jájnaḡar is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants (*مورزار فيل*) in the Ṭabaqát i Náḡirí, and the two Tárikh i Fírúz Sháhí, *i. e.* up to about A. D. 1440, after which the name disappears. It also occurs in the Aín; but the passage refers to the reign of Hoshang of Málwah (A. D., 1405 to 1434).†

It is first mentioned as lying together with Bang, Kámrúd, and Tirhut, near the kingdom of Lak'hnautí;‡ and when Ṭughán Khán ('Izzuddín Abul Faṭh Ṭughril) invaded Jájnaḡar, he left Lak'hnautí city in Shawwál, 641, and arrived after about a month, on the 6th Zí Qa'dah, at Katásan, the frontier of Jájnaḡar.§ In the following year, 642 [A. D., 1244], the Rái of Jájnaḡar invades the kingdom of Lak'hnautí, and first seizes on Lak'hnor, which above was identified with Rápha (west of the Húgli), where he kills the jāgírdár Fakhruddín Lágharí, and then marches on Lak'hnautí.

he would have reigned towards the end of the 16th century; but the Rájmalá places his reign much earlier. Journal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, p. 546.

* "The countries of Oedapoer and Tiparah are sometimes independent, sometimes under the great Mogul, and sometimes even under the king of Arakan."

† It may be that Dak'hin historians use the term to a later period.

‡ Tab. Náḡirí, p. 163.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. 244. Katásan has not been identified. The MSS. have also Katás, and Katásín.

This remark would seem to shew that, in the opinion of the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, Jájnapar lay somewhere west or south-west of the Bardwán and Húglí Districts, *i. e.* in Jhárkhand, or Chutiá Nágpúr.

The next invasion, on a large scale, was undertaken by the Emperor Balban, who in his pursuit of Sulṭán Mughís, about A. D. 1280, marched from Lak'hnaúti to Sunnárgáoṇ, the independent Rái of which makes himself responsible not to let Mughís escape either by land or by water. From Sunnárgáoṇ,* Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 *kos*, at the confines of Jájnapar, where Mughís is surprised and killed.

From this remark by Baraní, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas, and Dowson† conclude that Jájnapar corresponds to Tiparah; and the eastern parts of Hill Tiparah certainly lie about 70 *kos* from Sunnárgáoṇ. The Rájmalá; however, does not state that Tiparah had the name of Jájnapar.

Jájnapar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyásuddín Tughluq, when Ulugh Khán, in 1323 A. D., invades Talinga, Jájnapar, and Bedar;‡ and lastly, when Fírúz Sháh, after his second unsuccessful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns, in 1360, from Hazrat Panḍuah to Zafarábád and Jaunpúr,§ where he stays during the rainy season. He then marches over Bihár to Jájnapar; arrives at Satgarh (?), the Rái of which retreats; then comes to Báránasí, the residence of a great Rái; crosses the Mahindrí, and goes for some distance into Talinga, to which country the Rái had fled. Fírúz Sháh then retreats, passes through the country of Rái Parihán [Bir Bhán Deo, *Lucknow Edition*], and arrives in Padmáwatí and Baramtalá, great fields for elephants, and returns quickly to Karah||

Lastly, in the *Áin* (my text edition, p. 472, l. 6), Hoshang of Málwah goes in disguise to Jájnapar, in order to obtain elephants.

In these passages it is clear that Jájnapar represents a country between Talinga and Bihár, or, as expressed in the *Ṭabaqát*, west of Rápha, *i. e.*, the

18553.

* Baraní, p. 87. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition has Hájínagar, Jájínagar, and (once) Jájnapar.

† *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 112, 113. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition of Badáoní, I, p. 129, calls Mughís wrongly Mu'izz, and says that he had gone towards Jájnapar and Tárkilah (or Nárkilah, as the *Lucknow* edition of Badáoní has).

‡ Badáoní, I, 223. Dowson, III, 234. Baraní, 450.

§ Zafarábád, which is so often mentioned by Muhammadan historians, lies on the right bank of the Gúmí, a little below Jaunpúr, which lies on the left bank. The maps give, of course, Jaffurabad.

|| Badáoní, I, 247. Dowson, III, 312 to 316. Dowson has Banárasí, for Báránasí; and Firishtah (*Lucknow* edition, p. 147) has 'Banáras, which is the residence of the Rái of Jájnapar.'

Katak is called in the *Áin* 'Katak Banáras;' and from the account translated by Dowson from 'Affí it is clear that south-western Orísá is meant, although the comparison of Jájnapar and Jájpur may be redundant. Rennell in his *Bengal Atlas* (Map VII) gives a Baramtalá in Singhbhúm, near northern Mayurbhanj.

wild districts of western Orísá, Chutiá Nágpúr, and the eastern portions of the Central Provinces, of which Ratanpúr, Bastar, and Sirguja are also mentioned in the *Áin* as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Baraní, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jájnaġar 70 *kos* beyond Sunnárġaon, whilst in his account of Tughluq Sháh's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talinga; and we are forced either to believe that there were two Jájnaġars, one famous for elephants near south-western Bengal (Ṭabaqát i Náġirí, Baraní, Fírúzháhí, *Áin*), and another in Tiparah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Baraní); or to assume that there was in reality only one Jájnaġar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Baraní in the above single passage wrote Sunnárġaon by mistake for Sátġaon,* which would remove all difficulties.

The Northern Frontier.

From Bhítarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, and in later times from Gauhattí in Kámruġ over K'hontag'hát, the frontier passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihár to Mahall Pátġaon, or Pátġram (west of Koch Bihár), which is mentioned by Mughul historians as the frontier-town in the extreme north, and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepál to the northern portions of Púrniaġ District. Thus by far the greater portion of what is now-a-days called the Koch Bihár Division, did not belong to Bengal.

The Sirkárs along the northern frontier were G'horág'hát, Panjrah, Táġpúr, and Púrniaġ.

The inhabitants of northern Bengal according to the Ṭabaqát i Náġirí were the Koch, Meeġ, and Thárú tribes, whose Mongolian features struck the first invaders as peculiar.†

The Rájahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve a semi-independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtyár Khilġí, when Debkoṭ, near Dináġpúr, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north.

During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rangpúr was in the hands of the Rájahs of K á m a t á (කමත), to which country passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comotah,' or Comotay, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (Pl. IV). The town of

* Baraní's statement of the distance of 70 *kos* would admirably suit Sátġaon; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western Chutiá Nágpúr.

† For 'Thárú' Stewart has *Neharu*, but there can be no doubt that the author of the Ṭabaqát means the Thárús of Mithila. *Vide* Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 126; J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, p. 66.

The *Pádisháhnámah* says of the Asamese also that they resemble in features the Qaráqalpáks of southern Siberia.

Kámatá, or Kámatápúr, lay on the eastern bank of the Darlá river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch Bihár, and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. The river near its confluence with the Brahmaputra, separates mahall Bhítarband from Báhirband. The town itself and the Darlá river are correctly marked on the old maps. Buchanan estimated the circumference of Kámatápúr at nineteen miles; the palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stands in the centre. History informs us that Kámatá was invaded, about 1498 A. D., by Husain Sháh, and legends state that the town was destroyed and Nilamba, the last Kámatá Rájah, was taken prisoner. He escaped, however, and disappeared; but people believe that at some time in future he will be restored.

The Kámatá family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty, to which the present Mahárájá of Koch Bihár belongs. The new Rájás secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation.

The prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihár is known from the *Áin*. The *Haft Iqlím* has the following: "There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is *Ái*, and the people are zealous in their worship. Once a year they have a feast, when they kill all sorts of animals found in the country, believing that the meritoriousness of the slaughter comes from *Ái*. They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogís, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to *Ái*, saying that *Ái* has called them. From the time they become Bhogís, they may do what they like; every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed."

The first European traveller that visited Koch Bihár was Ralph Fitch. He says: "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche or Quicheu, which lies 25 days' journey northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile; his name is Suckel Counse;* his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate.† All the country is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both endes and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, so that men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvelous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be young. There they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have

* Shukl Gosáin; vide my essay on Koch Bihár and Ásám, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 53.

† I. e. the place where the merchants from China meet. Cacchegate is Chichá-k oṭá, north of the town of Koch Bihár and south of Baksa Fort, Long. 89° 35', in the Bengal Dúárs. It is now British.

hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which often times they use to eate."

As Ralph Fitch mentions Chichákoṭá, and the 'Ālamgírnámah Kanthalbári,* as belonging to the Koch Bihár, it follows that portions of the Dúárs must have once belonged to Koch Bihár.

Aurangzib's army under Mír Jumlah took Koch Bihár on the 19th December, 1661, when the town was called 'Ālamgírnagar,† a name which has not come into use; and the imperial collectors expected to raise a revenue of eight lák'hs of rupees, whilst in Prince Shujá's rentroll of 1658 Koch Bihár is put down as yielding Rs. 3,27,794.

On Van den Broucke's map, the whole Himálaya tract, from northern Bihár to Asám, is called 'T Ryk van Ragiawarra,' or the realm of Rájáwárú and in the text he says, that "Ragiawara consists of several separate countries, which sometimes fight the Great Mogul, and at other times are forced to submit." Of these several countries he mentions on the map 'T Ryk van Morang and 'T Ryk van Jesval, which latter name is also given on Blaeu's map and will be remarked on below.

The Morang was entered by Mughul troops in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. We first hear of an expedition led by Mírzá Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, and Iláh Virdí Khán, Faujdár of Gorák'hpúr, against the refractory zamíndár of Morang (beginning of 1075, or end of A. D. 1664). Mírzá Khán died during the expedition; but Iláh Virdí Khán returned with fourteen wild elephants and nine presentation elephants.‡ In the end of 1079 (beginning of 1669), Ma'çúm Khán reported that a false Shujá' had appeared in Morang and had caused disturbances there, and Ibráhím Khán and Fidái Khán received orders to capture him wherever he shewed himself, and to send his head to Court. Lastly, in 1087 (beginning of 1676), we hear of a conquest of Morang, but no particulars are given.

* West of Kanthalbári, the maps give a place called Mogulmurri [Mughulmárá], evidently the scone of a fight with Mughul troops. Another Mughulmárá lies between Bardwán and Jahánábád; a third between Medinípúr and Julesar, where Akbar's troops defeated Dáúd Sháh (Áia translation, p. 376); and a fourth, eight miles north of Medinípúr.

† Thánah Sangrámgarh, one of Aurangzib's frontier thánahs near Noák'hálí, had received the same name in allusion to the title of the emperor.

‡ 'Ālamgírnámah, pp. 850, 875. *Mádsir i 'Ālamgírí*, pp. 64, 150.

Blaev's Map of Bengal and of the Mughul Empire.

The map of Upper India by William and John Blaev (Pl. IV) is taken from their "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," Amsterdam, 1645 to 1650, Vol. II,* and is based upon the Portuguese and Dutch charts that existed at the time, and upon the descriptions of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of De Barros' map, and represents, therefore, the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy it is much inferior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660,† given in Valentyn's work. But the map is of great interest, as it helps us to unravel the difficulties in Terry's enumeration of the provinces of Bengal and other portions of the Dihli empire,‡ which has also been followed by the Dutch traveller De Laët in his "India Vera" (Amsterdam, 1631), and of which traces may still be found on Van den Broucke's map. It is with a view to explain the extraordinary configuration of Bengal on the old maps that I have given the present chapter a place in this essay.

From a glance at the map, it will be seen that our early geographers had no information of the extent and situation of the countries which we now-a-days call the Central Provinces and Chutiá Nágpúr. Hence Gwáliar, Narwar, and (on Van den Broucke's map) Málwá, bound Bengal on the west; the Santál mountains are continued eastwards to meet the Ásám mountain-chains, and places belonging to the Central Provinces have been put north of Bengal.

Terry enumerates the following provinces as belonging to the Mughul empire—1. *Candahore*, Qandahár; 2. *Cabul*; 3. *Multan*; 4. *Haiacan*, Hájikán, a sirkár of Sindh; 5. *Buckor*, Bhakkar; 6. *Tatta*; 7. *Soret with Jonagar*, Sorat'h with Júnágarh; 8. *Jesselmeece*; 9. *Attok*; 10. *Peniab*, Panjáb; 11. *Chishmeere*, Kashmir; 12. *Banchish*, "the chief city is called *Bishur*; it lyeth east, somewhat southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus." Here we have the first misplacement. Terry means Bangash and Bajor (Sawád, Swat); but for *East*, he should have said *West*.

* Capt. J. Waterhouse drew my attention to a copy of this work in the Library of the As. Society.

† Matthæus Van den Broucke was Land-Voogd, or governor, of Choromandel, which included Bengal, from 1658 to 1664, during which time he compiled the map in the Vth Volume of the 'Beschryving van Choromandel' in François Valentyn's 'Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien', Amsterdam, 1728. (Library, As. Soc. Bengal, No. 2266.)

‡ Edward Terry was chaplain to Sir Thomas Row, the Ambassador to Jahángir's Court, and was later Rector of the Church at Greenford, Middlesex. He presented his 'Voyage to East India,' in 1622, shortly after his return to England, to the then Prince of Wales; but he only published it in 1655, when he was sixty-four years old.

13. *Jangapore*, "the chief city so called; it lieth upon the River *Kaul*, one of those five rivers which water *Peniab*." (?) De Laët has 'Jengapor or Jenupar,' between Lahore and Agra. 14. *Jenba*, east of *Peniab*, Chamba. 15. *Dellee*,* *Dihli*. 16. *Bando*; 'it confineth Agra to the west.' This is *Bándhú*, or *Bándhúgarh*, south-east of *Ágrah*. 17. *Malwa*; 18. *Chitor*; 19. *Gujarat*; 20. *Chandis*, *Khándesh*; 21. *Berar*, with the chief city *Shapore*;† 22. *Narwar*; 23. *Gwalior*; 24. *Agra*; 25. *Sambal*, *Sambhal*, or *Murádábád* District. 26. "*Bakar*, the chief city called *Bikaneer*, it lyeth on the west side of the River *Ganges*." The whole remark seems to be erroneous. 27. *Nagracot*, *Nagarkot* or *Kángrah*. 28. *Siba*, "the chief city is called *Hardware*.‡" 29. *Kakares*, the principal cities are called *Dekalee* and *Púrholá*." Terry means the *Gakk'har* District, the chief cities of which were *Dángalí* and *Pharwálah*; *vide* *Aín* translation, p. 621. Terry also remarks that the *Caucasus* (*Himálaya*) divides *Kakares* from *Tartaria*, which accounts for its northern position on *Blaev's* map. 30. *Gor*, "the chief city so called; it is full of mountains; the River *Sersily*, a tributary unto *Ganges*, has its beginning in it." *Vide* 32.

31. *Pitan*, "the chief city so called; the River *Canda* waters it, and falls into the *Ganges* in the confines thereof." This is *Paithán*, the form used by *Abulfazl* for *Paṭhán*, or *Paṭhánkot*. Terry evidently means the whole hill tract of the *Sirmúr* range, as far as the *Alaknandá*. It is, however, possible that he meant the *Markandá*; but this river does not flow into the *Ganges*. The error in the position of *Pitan* is remarkable, as Terry, DeLaët, and *Blaev* give *Temmeri* (a Dutch spelling for *Dhamerí*, the old name of *Núrpúr*, near *Paṭhánkot*) between the *Ráví* and *Nagarkot* (*Kángrah*).

32. *Kanduana*, "the chief city is called *Karhakatenka*; the River *Sersily* parts it from *Pitan*. This and *Gor* are the north-east bounds of this *Monarchy*." There can be no doubt that *Kanduana* is *Gondwánah* (*Central Provinces*), of which the capital is *Garha-Katanga* (*Jabalpúr*); *vide* *Aín* translation, p. 367. If *Gor* is the north-east boundary of the empire, it is the *Gaur* of *Silhat*, mentioned above, or the *Gáro* Hills. *Sersily* is a misprint for *Sersity*, the *Saraswatí*, which after the *Jamuná* is the principal (legendary)

* "Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories." Terry. This unfortunate etymology shows however that Terry knew some Persian, because he cleverly disposes of the final *yá*. Similarly, he derives 'Khusrau,' from خوش and 'Sultán Khurram' from کرم *karam*, liberality!

† *Sháhpúr*, built by *Sultán Murád*, *Akbar's* son, six *kos* south of *Bálápúr*, now in ruins.

‡ I do not know whether the country near *Haridwár* was ever called *Sibá*. In the *Aín*, a *parganah* of the *Bísat Jálándhar Dúáb* is called *Sibah*.

tributary of the Ganges. The map follows the legend and makes the Saraswatí flow into the Ganges near Helobass (Iláhábás, the old name of Iláhábád).^{*} De Laët increases the confusion by calling the Sersily 'Perselis.' But the passage need no longer exercise commentators. Blaev's map clearly shows how erroneously the early geographers arranged the provinces.

33. *Patna*, "the chief city so called; the River Ganges bounds it on the west; Sersily on the east; it is a very fertile Province."

34. *Jesual*, "the chief city is called Raiapore; it lieth east of *Patna*." Van den Broucke puts Jesual east of Morang; and Blaev's map marks it as a country for elephants. It seems, therefore, that Ráipúr in the Central Provinces is meant, the elephant country *par excellence*, though the name 'Jesual' is not clear to me.

35. *Mewat*, "the chief city is called *Narnol*; it is very mountainous." This is Mewát, south-west of Dihlí, with Nármol. I am at a loss to understand how Mewát could have been placed so far away from Dihli; but Blaev's map shows why Terry and De Laët mention it here. The error was not even detected by Van den Broucke, who places 'T Ryk van Mewat east of the Brahmaputra, south of 'Cos Assam.'[†]

36. *Udessa*, "the chief city called *Jekanat*; it is the most remote part east of this empire." De Laët says: It is the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Maug kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians." DeBarros and Blaev have avoided this mistake; Van den Broucke, however, places 'T Ryk van Udesse north of Bollua (Bhaluah), between Tiparah and the Brahmaputra. But Orísá and Jagannát'h are meant. The spelling Udessa is clearly a transliteration of اوديسا, Uḍesá, and DeLaët has overlooked the identity of 'Orisa' and 'Udessa.'

37. *Bengala*.

It would take me too far from my subject, were I to enter on the identification of the places in western India on Blaev's map. I hope to do so at a future period, or would rather leave the task to Mr. E. Lethbridge, who has lately published valuable extracts from De Laët's work in the Calcutta Review.

^{*} According to the legend, the Saraswati, which is lost in the sand east of Bhatinda District, joins the Ganges *below the ground* at Iláhábád. Hence at Triboní and other places in Bengal, wherever two rivers leave the Ganges, we find the names Saraswati and Jamuná repeated.

[†] The London edition of 1655 has 'Jesuat.' De Laët has "Jesual, whose metropolis is Raiapore or Ragapore, lies to the east of Patna, and north-west of Bengala."

[‡] *Asám* is often called Koch *Asám*.

PART II.—HISTORICAL.

The Muhammadan period of the history of Bengal may be conveniently divided into five parts—

I. The 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the governors of Lak'hnauti appointed by the Dihli sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár Khilji, A. D. 1203 to 1338 A. D.

II. The period of the independent kings of Bengal, from 1338 to 1538.

III. The period of the kings of Sher Sháh's family and their Afghán successors, from 1538 to 1576.

IV. The Mughul period, from 1576 to 1740.

V. The Nawábí period, from the accession of 'Alí Virdí Khán, in 1740, to the transfer of Bengal to the E. I. Company.

In the following pages, I shall principally treat of the first and second periods.

I.

THE INITIAL PERIOD (1203 TO 1338, A. D.)

The first period has been almost exhaustively described by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal,' published in the Journal for 1867, in which he details the results of his examination of selections made from 13,500 pieces of silver, accidentally found in Koch Bihár in August, 1863. I can, therefore, with regard to this period, merely give a few interesting inscriptions which have since turned up, and note a few coins—second gleanings from the Koch Bihár *trouville*—which are in the Society's cabinet.

Of the following inscriptions belonging to the Initial Period, one was received from General Cunningham, and the others from Mr. Broadley, who handed over to the Society in all twenty-two rubbings, which I have deciphered and translated. The original stones are either attached to old public buildings in the town of Bihár, or are preserved in the Museum of that place.*

No. 1. *The Tughril Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

امر ببناء هذه العمارة في أيام مملكة المجلس العالي خان الأعظم
خاقان المعظم عز الحق و الدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيب الملوك
والسلطين ابى الفتح طغرل السلطاني خلد الله ملكه العبد مبارك خان
الخازن تقبل الله منه في المحرم سنة اربعين و ستمائة ١١

* Together with the rubbings, Mr. Broadley made over to the Society readings of several early Muhammadan coins of importance, and also a few notes on the Muhammadan buildings of the town of Bihár. The coins have since passed into the collection of Col. Guthrie, and have been published by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Second Part of the Initial Coinage of Bengal' (about to be reproduced in this Journal). The "notes"

This building was ordered to be erected during the days of the reign of the Majlis i 'Alī, the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, 'Izzul haq waddín, the help of Islám and the Muslims, the helper of princes and kings, A b u l F a t h T u g h r i l, the Royal, may God perpetuate his reign! The slave, Mubárák Khán, the Treasurer,—may God grant acceptance!

In the month of Muharram, 640, [July, 1242, A.D.]

The inscription is a large slab of basalt, and is at present in the Bihár Museum. It was found let into brick work on the north side of the great Dargáh, to protect the doorway from rain. A photozincograph of it was published by me in this Journal for 1871, Pt. I, Pl. vii.

It is of interest to remark that South Bihár was under the Lak'hnaúti governors from Bakhtiyár Khiljí's time.

Tughril in 631 (A. D. 1233-34) succeeded Saifuddín Aibak as governor of Lak'hnaúti, in which office he continued till the 5th Zí Qa'dah 642 (or 4th April, 1245), on which day he was forced to cede his office to Qamaruddín Timur Khán. Tughril was appointed to Audh; and Timur Khán remained in Lak'hnaúti till 29th Shawwál, 644, (or 9th March, 1247) on which day both he and Tughril died.*

The following are the governors of Bengal from Saifuddín Aibak to Bughrá Khán. The dates differ slightly from Mr. Thomas's list on p. 8 of his 'Chronicles.'

Saifuddín Aibak. Dies at Lak'hnaúti in 631. *Tabq.*, p. 239.

'Izzuddín Abul Fath Tughril Tughán Khán, governor from 631 to 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642. *Tabq.*, p. 245. He withdraws to Audh, and dies on the 29th Shawwál, 644.

Qamaruddín Timur Khán, governor from 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642, to 29th Shawwál, 644, when he, too, dies. *Tabq.*, p. 246.

Ikhtiyáruddín Yúzbak Tughril Khán, proclaims himself king under the title of Sultán Mughísuddín. Perishes in Kámrup. *Tabq.*, p. 263. No dates are given.

Jaláluddín Mas'úd, Malik Jání Khiljí Khán, becomes governor on the 18th Zí Qa'dah, 656 (or 17th Nov., 1258). *Tabq.*, pp. 206, 225.

'Izzuddín Balban, was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tájuddín Arsalán Khán Sanjar i Khwárazmí, who, however, was captured or killed by 'Izzuddín. *Tabq.*, p. 267.†

are of little value, and are moreover incomplete, so that I can only give my readings and translations of the Bihár inscriptions. They are marked 'B. C.' (Bihár Collection.)

* *Tabaqát i Náqirí*, pp. 245, 246, where Tughril is called Tughril Tughán Khán. Hence the *táríkh* on p. 246 is wrong, and for *sín* we have to read *mím*. 'Tughril' signifies a kind of falcon or hawk, and *tughril shudan*, like *shunqár shudan*, means 'to die,' 'Shunqár' also is a kind of falcon.

† Hence Tájuddín Arsalán Khán should not be put among the governors of Bengal.

Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, son of Arsalán Khán Sanjar. He had been for some time governor, when the emperor Balban ascended the throne (664). *Baraní*, p. 66. After a few years he was succeeded by

Ṭughlil, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sulṭán Muḡhīṣuddín. His fate has been mentioned above. No dates are given.

Buḡhrá Khán, Náṣiruddín Mahmúd, second son of emperor Balban.

No. 2. *The Bárahdarí Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

This inscription also belongs to the time of the early governors of Bengal; but unfortunately the first half with the name of the governor is wanting. Its date however, A. H. 663, shews that it belongs to the time of Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, governor of Bengal in the end of the reign of Náṣiruddín Mahmúd of Dihli. The inscription was found in the yard facing the shrine of Sháh Fazlullah, Bárahdarí Mahallah, Bihár.

اللّٰه و امارته و ابقى في ديار الممالك عمارته ببناء هذه المقبرة المقبركة شهر سنة
 * * * * * العدل الرفقة المخصوص بعناية الرحمن * * * سلطان شاه نور اللهم تزيده و
 بيض غرته و اجعل قبوة روضة من رياض الجنان و لا تجعل حفرة من حفر النيران
 في ليلة الاحد الثامن عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاث و ستين و ستمائة و المعمار
 عبددهما المؤمنون بانعامهما مجد الكابلي ॥

** may God (perpetuate) his rule and governorship, and may He cause his edifice to remain in the realm ** by the erection of this blessed tomb in the months of the year ** Sulṭán Sháh, (O God, illuminate his grave, and whiten his forehead, and make his grave a garden of the gardens of Paradise, but do not make it a pit of the pits of fire!). On Saturday evening, the 18th Jumáda I, 663. The architect is their slave, who is obliged by their rewards, Majd of Kábul. [8th March, 1265.]

No. 3. *The Kai Káús Inscription of Kagol.* Pl. V, Nos. 1 and 2.

A rubbing of this inscription was received from General Cunningham. Its date is, curious to say, the same as that of the Kai Káús inscription of Gangarâmpúr, published by me in the Journal, for 1872, p. 103. Mr. Thomas has published coins of this king, bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 (Chronicles, p. 149), and the cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal contains two clear specimens of 691, and 696 (Lak'hnaúti mint).

The inscription is—

وقو (؟) لبناء هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد الدولة السلطان المعظم
 مالك رناب الامم مولوي ملوك الترك والعجم صاحب التاج والخاتم
 ركن الدنيا * * * * * س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان يمين خليفة
 الله ناصر امير المؤمنين في نوبت الخان الاعظم خافان المعظم اختيار
 الحق والدين خان خان الشرق والصين سكندر الثاني فيروز ايتكين السلطان

* The text has a dual.

حَدَّ اللَّهُ دَوْلَتَهُ * * * * * الْمُظَفَّرُ الْمَذْصُورُ الْغَارِي ضِيَاءُ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالْدِّينِ
الْخِ خَانِ اِدَامِ اللَّهُ دَوْلَتَهُ وَزَادَ خَيْرَهُ فِي الْغَرَّةِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ
وَتَسْعِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةَ ۥ

This Jāmi' Mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultān, the owner of the necks of nations, the master of the princes of the Turks and the Persians, the lord of the crown and the signet, R u k n u d d u n y á w a d d í n [K a i K á ú] s S h á h, the king, son of a king who was the son of a king, the right hand of God's Viceregent, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, and during the governorship of the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Ikhtiyár ul haq waddín, the Khán of the Kháns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, F í r ú z A i t i g í n S u l t á n, (may God perpetuate his rule!) * * [by] the victorious, the invincible, the champion, Z i y a u d d a u l a h w a d d í n U l u g h K h á n, may God perpetuate his rule and increase his benefits! On the 1st day of Muharram, of the year 697. [19th October, 1297]*

* This inscription contains what Mr. Thomas calls an unusual reiteration of the words *ibnu sultānin ibni sultān*, which is perhaps more unusual on coins than on inscriptions. But the spirit of pride that breathes in the words is apparent, when we compare with it the legend of the coins struck in Tirlhut by the rebel Bahádur, given in Badáoni II, p. 298.

In Raziya's Bengal coinage (Thomas, Chronicles, p. 107), I read for مهرة, which has no sense, مودة, 'the helper,' the same as ناصرة. 'Raziya' stands for 'Raziya'at unnisa,' i. e. one who among women is looked upon with favour.

I also take this opportunity to give my reading of the Náçiruddín Mahmúd Inscription, published by Mr. Thomas in his Chronicles, p. 129, an inscription which in style is similar to the above Kai Káu's inscription. General Cunningham has favored the Society with a rubbing of it.

[بني] هذه العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر
الدنيا والدين سلطان السلاطين ذي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان
صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و
سلطانه بامر الملك العالم الكبير اعظم قتلغخان بها الحق والدين ملك ملوك
الشرق والصين بلبن الشمسي في ايام ايلته دامت معاليه في العاشر من رجب
سنة اثني وخمسين وستماية ۥ

'This building was erected during the reign of the great Sultān, the owner of the necks of nations, Náçiruddunyá waddín, the king of kings, who protects the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the signet in the kingdom of the world, A b u l M u z a f f a r M a h m ú d S h á h, the son of the king (may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!), by order of the learned and great Malik, A' z a m Q u t l u g h K h á n B a h á u l h a q w a d d í n, the Malik of the Maliks of the Eastern Provinces and China, B a l b a n the Shamsí [slave of Shamsuddín Ilitmiş], during the period of his governorship, may his high qualities endure! On the 10th Rajab, 652.'

From this it will be seen that A'zam Qutlugh Khán (Balban) does not call himself *Malik ul 'Alam* 'the Malik of the world,' but *almalik ul 'alim*, 'the learned Malik.'

The reading of the name 'Aitigín' or 'beautiful moon,' in this inscription was suggested by Mr. Redhouse, and I gladly correct my reading Itgín in the Kai Káús inscription, published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 103, where the correct name of the builder is Zafar Khán Bahrá'm Aitigín, the Royal (*sulṭání*).*

The date of this inscription is the latest yet discovered of Kai Káús's reign.

Kai Káús seems to have been succeeded by his brother Shamsuddín Fírúz Sháh (I). Mr. Thomas quotes coins of this king, dated 702, 715, 720, 722, and the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has three specimens, struck at Lak'hnaúti, with clear dates 706 and 715, and (slightly doubtful) 710.

Three inscriptions of Fírúz Sháh have hitherto been found, of which one, dated 1st Muharram, 713, or 28th April, 1313, was published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Part I, p. 287.† The other two inscriptions are from Bihár, and are dated 709 and 715. They reveal that Fírúz Sháh had a son Hátim Khán,‡ who in those two years, and probably in the interval, was governor of Bihár.

No. 5. *The Fírúz Sháh (I) Inscription of Bihár.* [B.C.]

بنى هذه العمارة المزیدة (؟) فى عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا
والدين ابى المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وساطانه ونوبة ايلة
الخان العادل البازل الغازى * * الحق حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وساطانه العبد الضعيف محمد حسين تكهروري فى شهر سدة تسع وسبعماية ١١

This (additional?) building was erected in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king, (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!) and during the governorship of the just and liberal Khán, the champion of God, ** Hátim Khán, the son of the king, may God perpetuate his rule! The weak slave Muhammad Husain Tak'harori. During the months of the year 709. [A. D., 1309.]

A plate of this inscription was published in this Journal, for 1871, Part I, Pl. viii. The inscription itself is attached to a lofty gateway, which together with an arched hall, fast falling to decay, and a roofless mosque, forms the remains of what tradition calls Hátim Khán's palace. It stands on a gentle eminence, due east of the Bihár mountain.

* Or, we might at once translate, 'the Sultán;' for *sulṭání*, as abstract noun, occurs on numerous coins; vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for June, 1870, p. 152. The translation of the other portions of the inscription is here confirmed.

† Where in the third line for *الاکرام* read *الاکرم*.


‡ Besides the four sons mentioned by Mr. Thomas, Chronicles, p. 148.

بنى هذا المسجد فى نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر
 فيروز شاه السلطان و ايام اماره خاقان الزمان المخاطب بحاتم خان ادام الله
 ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله و لكرمه الراجى احقر الخلائق بهرام بن حاجى
 تاب الله عليه • غفر لوالديه فى الغرة من رجب سنة خمس عشرة
 و سبعمائة ۱۱

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh, the king, and during the governorship of the Kháqán of the age, known as Hátim Khán, may God cause their shadows to last! The slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of mankind, Bahrá, son of Hájí, may God turn to him and may He pardon his parents!

On the first day of the month of Rajab of the year 715. [1st October, 1315.]

This inscription, a fine slab of basalt, leans against the wall of the Chhotá Dargáh in Bihár.

Two other sons of Firúz Sháh, Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh and the well known Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh, struck coins as 'kings of Bengal' during the lifetime of their father. Of the former, Mr. Thomas says (Chronicles, p. 194)—“Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh. No date or place of mintage is preserved.” However, the cabinet of the Asiatic Society possesses two specimens,* one of the same kind as published by Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, Pl. VI, No. 4), and a new variety, containing the same legend, but with the letters, on the obverse, close together, and with a  instead of the star on the reverse. The former fortunately contains a complete margin, with the clear legend—

ضرب هذه الفضة بلكهنوتى سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائة

This silver coin was struck at Lak'hnauti in the year 718.

Mr. Thomas looks upon the *d* in the name of this king as the Hindí *ḍ*, which is so often interchanged with *ṣ* *re*. This may be the case, inasmuch as Shiháb, according to Muhammadan custom, would assume the name of his grandfather بغرا, *bughrá*; † but in India, people seem early to have substituted a *dál* for the *re*; hence we find in the Aín the form بغدى *bughdí*.‡

Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh was the last of the Balbaní kings of Bengal. “In A.H. 733, Muhammad ibn i Tughluq is found issuing his own coin in

* Evidently Bábu Rájendralála Mitra's selections from the Koch Bihár hoard.

† Which signifies a male 'Bactrian camel' (with two humps). The spellings given in dictionaries are بوغور - بوغر - بوغرا - بوغرا.

‡ Vide my Aín translation, p. 143.

Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the province and the empire."* And already the year before, we find that a palace had been built, or renovated, in Bihár for the Imperial *Náib*, which tradition still calls the 'sukúnat,' or residency.

No. 7. *The Sukúnat Inscription of Bihár.* [B.C.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 شد بتجدید عمارت این دروازه عالی عالم آرای و این طاق رفیع فلك سماي در ایام
 خلافت خلیفه جهانپناه آسمان بارگاه خدایگان سلاطین گیهان فرمان فرمای عالمیان
 ذی الامن و الامان لامل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان ابو المجاهد محمد بن
 تغلقشاه السلطان خلدت خلافته و سلطانه في الغرة من الشهر المبارک رمضان سنة
 اثنی و ثلاثین و سبعماية ۱۱

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico, were renewed in the reign of the Khalifah, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the Lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, Abul Mujáhid Muhammad, son of Tughluq Sháh, the Sultán, (may his kingdom and rule be perpetuated!). On the first day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 732, A. H. [27th May, 1332].

From this time till the beginning of the 10th century, Southern Bihár as remarked above, remained detached from Bengal, and followed the fortunes of the empires of Dihli and of Jaunpúr.

Muhammad Tughluq's governors of Lak'hnaúti, Sátgáon, and Sunnár-gáon did not long remain undisturbed, and the death of Bahrám Khán, governor of the last province, was the commencement of new revolutions, which led to the establishment of a line of independent kings.

II.

THE SECOND PERIOD, OR THE PERIOD OF THE INDEPENDENT KINGS OF BENGAL (1338 TO 1538, A.D.)

For this period I shall take the kings singly, and collect for each reign whatever new information I have been able to gather from the rubbings received from General Cunningham, Dr. J. Wise, and Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and from unpublished Bengal coins in the Society's cabinet.

I have also compared the corresponding chapter of the *Rigázussalátiin* with the statements given in the *Tabaqát i Akbari* and in *Firishtah*.

The line of the independent kings commences with

* Thomas, Chronicles, p. 200.

I. Fakhruddīn Abul Muzaffar Mubārak Shāh.

He had been *Silāhdār*, or armour-bearer, to Bahrán Khán, the Dihlí governor of Sumnārgāon, and on his master's death in 739 A. H., or 1338 A.D., proclaimed there his independence.

According to the *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī*, *Firishtah*, and the *Riyáz ussalāṭīn*, Mubārak Shāh was killed by 'Alī Mubārak in 741, after a reign of two years and some months.* But as his coins extend over a period of more than ten years, from 739 to 750, it looks as if the date given in the histories should be corrected to *ده سال و چند ماه*, 'ten years and some months.' Mr. Thomas is willing to antedate Mubārak Shāh's accession to 737; but the coins (*Chronicles*, p. 263, and Plate vi, fig. 7) do not satisfactorily prove this, because the reading *سبع*, in the absence of diacritical marks, is more likely *تسع*, which the histories give, especially because the numerous coins hitherto found do not give the intervening year (738).

The name 'Mubārak Shah' has been proved by coins, the histories only call him Sultān Fakhruddīn or more familiarly still, Fakhrá.† Ibn Baṭūṭah also mentions him under the name of Fakhruddīn, and says that he was an eminent man, kind to strangers and Qúfis.‡

Mubārak Shāh's son is mentioned below. His son-in-law Zafar Khán fled from Sumnārgāon over Tattah to Fīrúz Shāh in Dihlí, who, at his request, invaded Bengal a second time in the beginning of Sikandar Shāh's reign.§

II. 'Ala'uddīn Abul Muzaffar 'Alī' Shāh.

Regarding this king the *Riyázussalāṭīn* has the following :

'It is said that Malik 'Alī Mubārak, who as king is styled Sultān 'Alāuddīn, was a trusted servant of Malik Fīrúz [subsequently Fīrúz Shāh III. of Dihlí], and Malik Fīrúz was brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh, and son of the paternal uncle of Muhammad Shāh. Muhammad Shah, in the first year of his reign, made Malik Fīrúz his Náib-Bārbak. Now at this time, Hájí Ilyás, the foster-brother of 'Alī Mubārak, did something wicked and fled from Dihlí. Malik Fīrúz asked 'Alī Mubārak what had become of Hájí Ilyás. 'Alī Mubārak went in search of him; and when he found no trace of him, he told Malik Fīrúz that Hájí Ilyás had run away. Fīrúz scolded him and told him to leave his presence. 'Alī

* The *Riyáz* has five months. Stewart places his death in 743; but all histories have 741.

† Dowson, *Elliot's History*, III, p. 304.

‡ See Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 195.

§ These facts are only mentioned by Shams i Sirāj, who moreover places Fakhruddīn's defeat and death immediately after Fīrúz Shāh's first invasion of Bengal in 754. This is clearly a few years too late.

Mubárák now went to Bengal. On his way, one night, he had a dream and saw the revered saint Jaláluddín Tabrízí, who said to him, "I will give thee the kingdom of Bengal; but thou wilt have to build me a vault." 'Alí Mubárák put the finger of acceptance on his eye, and asked where it was to be built. The saint replied, "In the town of Paṇḍuah at a place where thou wilt see thirty bricks one over another, and below them a fresh rose of a hundred petals."

'When 'Alí Mubárák arrived in Bengal, he entered the service of Qadar Khán, [the Imperial governor of Lak'hnaúti] and received from him the command (*bakhshigari*) of the army. But when Fakhruddín revolted against Qadar Khán, 'Alí Mubárák killed his benefactor, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Sultán 'Aláuddín. He then made war upon Fakhruddín, and slew him "as a punishment for having killed his benefactor." Leaving thanahs in (the province of) Lak'hnaúti, 'Aláuddín marched to subjugate other parts of Bengal. But from the time he had proclaimed himself king, the whirlpool of pleasure had made him forgetful of his promise to the Saint, when one night Jaláluddín again appeared to him and said, "O Sultán 'Aláuddín, thou art now king of Bengal, but me thou hast forgotten." The king next day at once searched for the bricks, and found them just as the saint had described. There he built the vault, the ruins of which exist to this day.

'Now about this time Háji Ilyás also arrived in Paṇḍuah. Sultán 'Aláuddín put him into prison, but after some time, at the request of his mother who had been Sultán 'Aláuddín's nurse, he set him at liberty, and allowed him to come to court. Háji Ilyás, in a short time, found means to gain over the army, killed 'Aláuddín with the help of the eunuch, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Shamsuddín Bhangrah.

'The reign of Sultán 'Aláuddín lasted one year and five months.'

This extract is so far satisfactory, as it explains the relation between Fírúz Sháh, 'Alí Mubárák, and Háji Ilyás.

The evidence of coins, as in the case of the preceding king, gives 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh a longer reign than the histories. Mr. Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 265) gives a coin of the year 742, and he adds that he has seen coins of 744, 745, 746. There is nothing strange in the name '*Alí Mubárák*', which he thinks has arisen from "a strange jumble of Muhammadan writers, who endowed 'Alí Sháh with the surname of his adversary Mubárák Sháh;" for 'Alí Mubárák is as common a name as Mubárák 'Alí, and the histories say that this was 'Alí Sháh's name before accession.

From the fact that the coinage of Mubárák Sháh is restricted to the Sunnárágón mint, and that of 'Alí Sháh to Fírúzábád (*i. e.* Paṇḍuah), we may conclude that the former held Eastern, and the latter Western Bengal.

But 'Alí Sháh was vigorously opposed by Háji Ilyás, who struck coins

in Paṇḍuah, 'Alī Shāh's capital, in 740 and 744, and in uninterrupted succession from 746 (probably the correct year when 'Alī Shāh was overcome by him) to 758.

III. Ikhtiya'ruddīn Abul Muzaffar Gha'zi' Sha'h.

Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh was succeeded in Eastern Bengal by Ikhti-yāruddīn, who styles himself "son of the Sultān." We may, therefore, accept Mr. Thomas's hypothesis that he was the son of Mubārak Shāh. Coins are the only testimony on which the name of this king of Eastern Bengal has found a place in the list of kings. The figure of one of the coins given by Mr. Thomas, as also the specimen in the cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society, shew the year 753.*

IV. Shamsuddīn Abul Muzaffar Ilyā's Sha'h.

The relation of this king to 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Shāh and Fīrūz Shāh III. of Dihlī has been mentioned above. Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, he established himself, in 753, in Sunnārgāon (Thomas, p. 269), and thus founded a dynasty, which, with an interruption of about forty years in the beginning of the 9th century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H.

Ilyās Shāh's successes in Eastern Bengal were followed by an attempt to extend the western boundaries of the kingdom, and according to the *Riyāz* he pushed as far as the Banāras district. In order to punish him, Fīrūz Shāh, in 754, after marching through Tīrhut and Pūrniah, invaded Bengal and besieged Ekdālah. The defeat of Ilyās Shāh is almost humorously described by Ziyā i Baranī. But "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country," and Fīrūz Shāh withdrew,† appointing collectors, apparently

* Thomas, *Chronicles*, Pl. VI, fig. 9. The margin clearly gives ۷۵۳. A figure with ۷۵۳ would be desirable, so that the reign of this king might be fixed from 751 to 753.

† It is said in the *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī*, under Ilyās Shāh, that Fīrūz Shāh's expedition lasted from the 10th Shawwal, 754, till 11th Rabi' I, 755. As the latter date corresponds to the 5th April 1354, it could only have been *prospect* of the rains, not the setting in of that season, that drove Fīrūz Shāh back to Dihlī. The army, according to Baranī, complained of mosquitos in the vicinity of Paṇḍuah.

The 'Fīrūzpūrabād,' mentioned by Stewart and quoted by Mr. Thomas (p. 264, note 2), where Fīrūz Shāh pitched his camp, should be 'Fīrūzpūr.' The *Riyāz* says—"At a place where now Fīrūzpūr lies (*bajāe kih alyaum Fīrūzpūr ābādast*, not *Fīrūzpūrabād ast*), Fīrūz Shāh pitched his camp, and starting from that place on horseback laid siege to the fort of Paṇḍuah. In the fort Sultān Shamsuddīn had left his son, whilst he himself had retreated to Fort Ekdālah, which is very strong." The maps show several Fīrūzpūrs round about Gaur; thus two are south of the fort of Gaur.

for the first time, in Tirhut, and was glad in subsequent years to exchange presents with Ilyás Sháh.

As Hájí Ilyás is the legendary founder of Hájípúr, opposite Patna, we may assume that in northern Bihár the Ghandak formed the frontier; in south Bihár, however, the frontier could not have passed beyond Munger, because the inscriptions preserved in the town of Bihár (*vide* below) shew that in 732, 737, 753, 761, 792, and 799, the town of Bihár was under Dihlí governors.

Just as Mubárák Sháh and 'Alí Sháh are called in the histories by their first name, so is Ilyás Sháh also invariably called Sultán Shamsuddín. The name 'Ilyas Khaje,' which Stewart gives, is not to be found in historical works. Stewart also mentions 760 as the year in which Ilyás died, but the histories only mention that his reign lasted sixteen years and some months. In 758, he had for the third time sent ambassadors with presents to Dihlí, and Firúz returned the compliment by sending him horses; but the Dihlí ambassadors on reaching Bihár heard that Ilyás had in the meantime died. The latest of Mr. Thomas's coins of Ilyás Sháh also bear the year 758.*

Ilyás Sháh is nicknamed 'Bhangrah,' a corruption, it seems, of the Hindústání *bhangrá*, 'a seller, or eater, of the drug *bháng* (hemp).' Firishtah says that he does not know the origin of the word; but Ziyá i Baraní evidently knew more about it; for he says, rejoicing in his joke,—“And the well known Bengal Páiks, who for years had borne the name of 'the Bengal Ancients' or 'the Dead,' had taken a quid from Ilyás the Bháng-eater, in order to shew that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; and standing in front of the train of that wild maniac, together with the mouldy-looking Bangálí Rájahs, they bravely threw about their arms and legs; but as soon as the battle commenced, they put from fear their fingers into their mouths, gave up standing to attention, threw away swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were consumed by the swords of the enemies.” A graphic description, by the way, of the Bengal Military Police in 1353, A. D.

No inscriptions have hitherto turned up that mention Ilyás Sháh; nor does the author of the Riyáz, who had a good personal knowledge of the ruins of Gaur and Panduah, speak of any buildings erected by him. He only says—‘It is said that Sultán Shamsuddín made in Bengal a reservoir in imitation of Hauz i Shamsí at Dihlí.’

* Reinaud, however, quoted by Marsden (p. 566, note) mentions two Sunnargáon coins of 754 and 760. The MS. of the Riyáz belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal mentions 758 as the year in which the last ambassadors left for Dihlí; Stewart has 759; and the Tabaqát and Firishtah, who copies from it, have ‘in the end of 759.’ The earliest coin of Sikandar figured by Mr. Thomas (Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal, 1867, Part I, p. 63, and Pl. II, No. 12) belongs to 761.

Regarding the coinage of Ilyás Sháh, *vide* Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 57, 58.

V. Abul Muja'hid Sikandar Sha'h.

Ilyás Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar Sháh. The beginning of his reign was marked by a second attempt* made by Fírúz Sháh to annex Bengal; but as in the first, Ekdálah held out, and Fírúz returned to Dihli, and never again interfered in Bengal matters.

'In 766,' says the Riyáz,† 'Sikandar commenced to build the Aḍīnah [i. e. Friday] Mosque; but he had not finished it when he died, and the building remained half completed, and now-a-days parts of the edifice may be seen in the jungle near Paṇḍuah, about a *kos* from it. I have seen it myself: it is, indeed, a fine mosque and must have cost a great deal of money. May Sikandar's efforts be thankfully remembered!'

According to the same author, Sikandar Sháh died after a reign of nine years and some months—a statement also given in the Ṭabaqát—of wounds which he had received 'on the field of Goálpárah,' fighting with his favourite son Ghiyás, whom the machinations of a jealous step-mother had driven into rebellion.‡

'Sikandar was the contemporary of the revered saint 'Alául Haq.'

Several inscriptions belonging to Sikandar's reign have been found. One of the year 765, from Dínájpúr, was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 105. I remarked there on the beauty of its characters;§ but the inscriptions inside and outside the Aḍīnah Mosque, rubbings of which the Society owes to General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley, are the finest that I have seen. The characters are beautiful, and the rubbings have created sensation wherever I have shewn them. The inscription inside is 13½ ft. long and 1½ ft. broad, but contains only verses from the Qorán [Sur. IX, 18, 19], on the top in Kufic and below in (what people call now-a-days in India)

* In 760, according to the Ṭabaqát and the Riyáz; Stewart has 761. Regarding Fírúz Sháh's desire to reinstate Zafar Khán, Mubarak Sháh's son-in-law, in the government of Sunnárgháon, the cause that led to the expedition, *vide* Dowson, Elliot's History of India, III, 304, ff.

† Stewart has 763.

‡ Ghiyáz marched with a large army from Sunnárgháon, and pitched his camp at Sunnárgharhi. Stewart has *Sunnárkoḥ*. From the other side, his father issued forth with a terror-inspiring army, and the next day, on the field of Goálpárah, both parties engaged in deadly strife. The whole story is only to be found in the Riyáz.

The Goálpárah meant here is, no doubt, the village quite close to Paṇḍuah, S. W. of it. I have not identified Sunnárgharhi.

§ It was written by one Ghiyás. General Cunningham is inclined to think that the Ghiyás is Sikandar's son.

Tughrá characters. The stone outside measures 4 ft. 9 in. by 10 in., and its letters are just as beautiful.

No. 8. *The Sikandar Sháh Inscription, Adinah Mosque, Hazrat Panđuah, A. H. 770, (vide Pl. V, No. 3).**

أمر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجا ابا (؟) فى الدولة السلطان الاعظم
اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الواصل بنائيد الرحمن ابو المجاهد
سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلفته الى يوم الموعود
كتبه فى التاريخ ست رجب سنة سبعين و سبعمائة اا

This.....mosque was ordered to be built in the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, the king, son of Ilyás Sháh, the king,—may his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise!

He wrote it on the 6th Rajab of the year 770. [14th February, 1369.]

Neither inscriptions nor coins give Sikandar Sháh a full *julús* name; he only has a *kunya*, Abul Mujáhid. Perhaps it would be going too far in speculations, if I were to say that Ilyás *naturally* called his son Sikandar; but a Muhammadan, on hearing the name of Ilyás, will immediately think of the *áb i hayát*, 'the water of life'; and as Sikandar is the legendary successor of Ilyás (the Prophet Elias) in search of the precious commodity, the name of the father may have suggested that of the son.

As stated above, the histories assign Sikandar Sháh a reign of nine years and some months. Stewart says that he died in 769, a year obtained by adding nine years and a fraction to 760, which he assumes to have been the year in which Ilyás Sháh died. The above Panđuah inscription extends Sikandar's reign to the latter half of 770, and the coins figured by Mr. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage' (J. A. S. B., 1867, Pl. II, Nos. 12, 14, and 13) give the dates 761, 782, and 783. But Mr. Thomas also states that among the large number of Sikandarsháhís that passed through his hands, he found coins of almost every year between 750 and 792, with the exception of the years 755, 762, 767, 768, 769, 774, 775, 777, and 778. It thus becomes clear that Sikandar Sháh struck coins as prince. Mr. Thomas also quotes A'zam Sháhí coins of 772, 775, 776, the years when Sikandar's coinage is most interrupted, and again from 790 to 799. Further, we have to remember that the poet Háfiz sent the well known ghazal

* I have elsewhere remarked on the numerous grammatical mistakes in Bengal Arabic Inscriptions. They consist chiefly in wrong articles, mistakes in gender, in oblique cases, and in wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals. In order not to disfigure the text, I shall no more indicate such errors by a (*sic*).

to Ghiyásuddín A'zam Sháh, 'king' of Bengal; and as Háfiz died in 791 (خاك مصلي being the date of his death), the ghazal must have been sent to Bengal during Sikandar Sháh's lifetime. The fact that A'zam Sháh's early coins (of A. H. 772) were struck in Mu'azzamábád (*vide* above), agrees with the statement of the Riyáz that he rebelled in Eastern Bengal, where he remained "nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority."*

VI. Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar A'zam Sha'h.

The only fact given in the *Riyáz* and omitted by Stewart is that "A'zam Sháh was treacherously murdered (*ba-daghá kushtah*) by Rájah Káns "after a reign of seven years and some months,† or, as I have seen in a "little book, after a reign of sixteen years, five months, and three days."

The coins of this king, as mentioned before, go to 799; the latest figured by Mr. Thomas (Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pl. II, No. 15) is of 795.‡ No inscription of this and the following two kings have been found.

* It is also curious that in the inscription of 777, published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 292, no king is mentioned, as if it had been doubtful who the real king was.

In order to remove all doubts regarding a confusion of سبعين and تسعين in the reading of Sikandar's and A'zam Sháh's coins, a few clear drawings of Sikandar Sháh's struck between 783 and 792, and of A'zam Sháh's, struck in 772, 775, 776, would be required. A'zam Sháh's reign, according to the common statement, lasted 7 years, which we certainly get when we subtract 792 (the latest year cited by Mr. Thomas for Sikandar Sháh) from 799 (the latest year cited for A'zam Sháh); but if we take the second statement, given in the *Riyáz*, regarding the length of A'zam Sháh's reign, viz. 16 years, 5 months, and 3 days, and subtract it from 799, we get 783, the year of Mr. Thomas's latest figured coin.

† I. e., according to the wrong chronology of the *Tabaqát* and the *Riyáz*, in 775.

‡ I may here suggest a few unimportant alterations in Mr. Thomas's readings of A'zam Sháh's coins ('Initial Coinage,' J. A. S. B., 1867, pp. 68 to 70). First, *عنون الاسلام* is to be corrected to *غوث الاسلام*. Again, the mysterious كين (*loc. cit.*, p. 68) is nothing but *يمين*, *yamín*. Lastly the reverse of coin No. 38 (*loc. cit.*, p. 70), as I see from a specimen in the Society's Coin Cabinet, is

ابد الله دولته و خلد الله ملكه

May God render his power everlasting, and may God perpetuate his reign,—abbada alláhu, not the name 'Abdullah,—which removes from the mint officials the charge of ignorance. It was only Akbar who, in his hatred of everything that was Arabic, recommended the substitution of Alif for 'Ain, and ʒ for ح, &c.

In the reverse of the Sikandar Sháhí (*loc. cit.*, p. 64, No. 23), as I also see from a coin in the possession of the Society, there is a wrong Alif before *لدين* and a *و* (*waw*) is omitted before *Alqáhiru*,—"Who renders assistance to the religion of God, and who is victorious over the enemies of God." This cancels the footnote.

VII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Hamzah Sha'h, son of A'zam Sha'h.

The histories give him the epithet of Sulṭán ussaláṭín, and praise him for his virtues. Firishtah says :—" And the Rájahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience and practised no neglect and delay in paying taxes."

According to the Ṭabaqát, he reigned ten years. But the author of the Riyáz saw " in the little book," that the reign of this king was 3 years, 7 months, and 5 days, which would bring his reign to 802, or 803, A. H.

Marsden has published a coin of this king, without, however, giving the Royal name (Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLIV). It follows in appearance the coins of Sikandar Sháh and A'zam Sháh; the margin contains 'Fírúzábád,' but no year. The specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society is of very rude manufacture, and has most clumsy letters, especially on the reverse.

Vide Pl. VII, No. 1. Silver. Weight, 162.505 grains. A. H. (80)4. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.) Rare. Circular areas.

OBVERSE— المريد بتأييد الرحمن سيف الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد حمزة شاه
بن اعظم شاه السلطان

REVERSE— ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين

MARGIN— * * * * سنة اربع

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Hamzah Sháh, son of A'zam Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and the Muslims * * year * * 4.

VIII. Shamsuddi'n ? P, son of Saifuddi'n Hamzah Sha'h.

The Ṭabaqát says that this king followed the path of his father, and died after a quiet reign of three years and a few months. Firishtah states that as the king was young and deficient in intellect, an infidel of the name of Káns, who was an Amír of the court, obtained great power and influence, and usurped the executive and the collection of taxes. The Riyáz has the the following : " After enjoying himself for some time, he died, in 788, from an illness, or through the foul play of Rájah Káns, who at that time was very powerful. *And some writers have asserted that this Shamsuddín was no son of the Sulṭán ussaláṭín, but an adopted son (mutabanní), and that his name was Shihábuddín. Anyhow, he reigned 3 years, 4 months, and 6 days.* It is clear that Rájah Káns, who was zamíndár of Bhatúriali, rebelled against him, killed him, and usurped the throne."

THE SAINTS OF GAUR AND HAZRAT PANDUAH.

Before proceeding in my account of the kings of Bengal, it may be convenient here to collect the information which we possess regarding the

* I. e., according to the erroneous chronology, he would have died in 785.

Muhammadian saints of Gaur and Panduah. Their names often occur in Bengal History, while their dargáhs, as elsewhere, are the natural depositories of inscriptions.

The principal personages of saintly renown are Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízī, Shaikh Akhī Sirájuddín 'Usmán, Shaikh 'Aláulhaq, and Núr Quṭb 'Alam.* All larger works on Muhammadian Saints contain biographical notices of them.

1. *Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízī.*

He was a pupil of Abú Sa'id Tabrízī and of the renowned Shaikh Shiháb-uddín Suhrawardí. He accompanied the latter on his pilgrimages to Makkah, and used to carry on his head a small oven with the hot pots in which his master kept his food. Numerous miracles are ascribed to him. Among others, he converted, with one look, at Badáon a Hindú milkman to Islám. Though several times charged with immoral practices, he defeated his accusers. When he went to Bengal, he commenced to destroy idols; in fact, his vault occupies the site of an idol temple. He kept a *langarkhánah*, where he housed and fed beggars and travellers. He died in 642 A. H., or A. D. 1244. The place where he died does not seem to be accurately known. The Mutawallís of the tomb near Gaur say that he died in Aurangábád (the old K'harkí), and that his shrine in Bengal† is a mere *ja'wab*, or imitation-vault; but the Áin i Akbarí (IVth book) says that he was buried at Bandar Díú Mahall.‡ *Vide* below under Yúsusf Sháh.

2. *Shaikh Akhī Sirájuddín 'Usmán.*

Siráj came as a boy to Nizámuddín Auliá of Dihlí, who handed him over to Fakhruddín Zarrádí to teach. In course of time, he became very learned, and was told to go to Bengal, where he died in 758, A. H., or 1357, A. D. The *Haft Iqlím* says that Nizám called him 'the mirror of Hindústán,' and that he only received, when advanced in age, proper instruction from Fakhruddín. After Nizám's death, he went to Lak'hnaúti, and all the king became his pupils.

For the inscriptions at his tomb, *vide* below under Husain Sháh.

* Besides these, the Riyáz mentions a Shaikh Rájá Bayábání (died in 754, when Fírúz besieged Ilyás Sháh). Shaikh Hamíd of Nágor, one of Núr Quṭb 'Alam's teachers, belongs to Nágor in Jodhpúr, not to Nágor in Bírghúm, as Stewart says.

† As most Dargáhs in Bengal, Sháh Jalál's tomb is rich. Its lands lie chiefly in Bardwán District, at Bohát, near Maimári, a station on the E. I. Railway. There is a Maḍrasah and a Sarái in Bohát.

The oven is still shewn at the Gaur shrine, and "till three generations back, it cooked rice without fuel."

‡ I. e., either the Maldives, or Díú in Gujarát. *Vide* Dowson, IV, 96, note.

3. *Shaikh 'Aláuddín 'Alá-ulhaq.*

'Alá-ulhaq was the son of Shaikh As'ad of Láhore, and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán. According to the *Ma'árij-ul-wiláyat*, he was a true Quraishí Hášimí, and traced his descent from Khálid bin Walíd. He was at first exceedingly proud of his origin, wealth, and knowledge, so much so, that Shaikh Akhí complainingly told Nizámuddín Auliá that he was no match for 'Alá-ulhaq. But Nizám told him not to mind it, as 'Alá would in time become his (Akhí's) pupil. It seems that 'Alá in his pride called himself *Ganj i Nabát*,* and when Nizám heard this, he cursed him, and said, "May God strike him dumb!" The curse instantly took effect; nor was 'Alá-ulhaq's tongue loosed till he became the humble pupil of Shaikh Akhí. As Shaikh Akhí travelled a great deal on horseback, 'Alá-ulhaq accompanied him walking barefoot and carrying his master's pots filled with hot food on his head, till he became quite bald. Nor did he feel concerned when Shaikh Akhí, with a view of humbling him, passed on his journey the houses of his brothers, who were all Amírs and rich men.

Once some travelling faqírs came to 'Alá-ulhaq's cell. One of them had a cat with him;† but whilst in 'Alá's house, the cat was lost. The owner asked the saint to 'make' him a new cat; but when 'Alá said that he did not know from what to make one, he replied, "What do I care from what you make it, make it out of the horn of a stag, if you like." 'Alá was annoyed and said, "You shall feel the horns." Thereupon another of the faqírs, in order to vex the saint, said, "Well, can I make a cat from my testicles?" and 'Alá replied, "There you shall feel it." When the faqírs had left the house, the former was killed by an ox, and the second got an attack of orchitis, of which he died.

'Alá-ulhaq spent large sums in feeding pupils, beggars, and wanderers. But the king of the land got envious, because the public treasury even could not have borne such a heavy expenditure, and he drove the saint to Sunnárgráon. He stayed there for two years, and gave his servants orders to spend twice as much as before. And yet, he only possessed two gardens, the income from which was eight thousand silver tankahs *per annum*; but as he gave a beggar the land as a present, all money must have been supplied him from the unseen world.

* Faríduddín 'Attár, the great saint of Pák Paṭan (Ajodhan) in the Panjáb has the title of *Ganj i Shakar*, 'store of sugar.' But *shakar* may be unrefined, whilst *nabát* is applied to the best refined sugar. 'Alá-ulhaq, therefore, placed himself above Faríd.

† What the dog is to Europeans, is the cat to Indians. To kill or lose a cat is most unlucky.

'Alá-ulhaq died on the 1st Rajab, 800, or 20th March, 1398, and his tomb is at Hazrat Panquah.

4. *Shaikh Nûruddîn Nûr Quṭb 'Ālam.*

He is the son and spiritual successor of 'Alá-ulhaq. In order early to practise the virtue of humility, he washed the clothes of beggars and wanderers, and kept the water constantly hot for ceremonial ablutions; nay, he even swept the cell of his father and cleaned the privies attached to the house. One day, whilst thus engaged, his pure body was polluted, and his father allowed him to proceed to other work, as woodcutting. He refused the invitation of his worldly brother A'zam Khân, who was the Vazîr at the court of Muhammad Tughluq.*

Quṭb 'Ālam died in 851, or A. D. 1447, and lies buried at Panquah. The words *shams ul hidāyat*, 'lamp of guidance,' are the *tārīkh* of his death. He was succeeded by his sons Ruf'atuddîn and Shaikh Anwar.

IX. *Rājah Kāns.*

We saw above that Shamsuddîn (II.)—a king whose existence and royal titles have not yet been verified by medallie or mural evidence—was dethroned by Rājah Kāns. This Rājah, at the present stage of research, belongs to legends and traditions rather than to authenticated history, there being little else known of him besides the fact that through him the succession of kings of the house of Ilyās Shāh, which had successfully ruled over Bengal for more than fifty years, was broken, and that his son became a Muhammadan.

The remark of the Riyāz regarding Shamsuddîn and the probability that he did not belong to the old dynasty, but was an adopted son and was called *Shihābuddîn*, receives a particular importance from the following coins of a new king, whom I shall now assign, for the first time, I believe, a place in the list of the kings of Bengal. Their manner of execution, which follows closely on that of the coins of preceding kings, and the mint towns mentioned proclaim them to be Bengal coins. The name of the new king is—

Shihābuddîn Abul Muzaffar Ba'yazîd Shāh.

His coins do not mention the name of his father, and the absence of the usual phrase *ibn ussulṭān*, 'son of the king,' indicates that he was either a usurper, in which case 'Bāyazîd' might represent the Muhammadan name of Rājah Kāns after conversion, or a puppet king, in whose name Rājah Kāns reigned and coined in the 'Dārul Islām' of Bengal.

If we take the first alternative, we have against it the clear statement of the historians that Kāns remained a Hindû, and also the circumstance

* This is rather early, considering that 752 is Tughluq's last year.

that his son does not mention the name of his father on his coins, which he would scarcely have omitted, if Káns had turned Muhammadan. And if we look upon this Báyzid Sháh as a successful rival of Rájah Káns, we have history and legends against us. Hence the theory of a puppet king—a *benámí* transaction—is perhaps the least objectionable.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 2. Silver. Weight, 163·94 grains. A.H. 812. Circular areas. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.)

OBVERSE.—المؤيد بن تائيد الرحمن شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه السلطان

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة . . . سنة ٨١٢

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Shihábuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Báyzid Sháh, the king.

The helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims, may God perpetuate his reign! This coin was struck * * * * year 812.

2 *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 3.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·76 grains. Fírúzábád, A. H. 816. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, two specimens.) Rare. The obverse has sixteen convex scollops, and the reverse eight concave ones.

OBVERSE.—As in No. 1.

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين

Margin.—(ابوبكر) ضرب (عمر) فيروز عثمان آباد سنة (علي) ٨١٦

In the Margin.—(Abú Bakr) struck at ('Umar) Fírúz-(‘Usmán) ábád in the year ('Alí) 816.

Rájah Káns has been identified by Mr. E. V. Westmacott† with Ganesh, Rájah of ‘Dynwaj,’ or Dínájpúr. The Riyáz, who appears to have compiled his chapter on this usurper from local traditions, calls him ‘Rájah of Bhatúriah.’ Whether this name is an ancient one, I cannot say; it does not occur in the Áin, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennell’s Atlas (1778), in which the name of Bhatúriah is given to a large District east of Máldah, bounded in the west by the Mahánandá River and the Púrna-

* In the figure of this coin, there is a wrong stroke between the ٨ and ١ in the year.

† *Vide* Calcutta Review, No CX, October, 1872. Col. Dalton suggests a comparison of the name ‘Káns’ with ‘Kons,’ or ‘Kopch,’ the same as Koch (Koch Bihár). Koch is often pronounced with a nasal twang, as if it were spelt Koñs.

It is also curious that a Parganah near Dínájpúr (south-west of it) has the name of ‘Bajit púr,’ a well known Bangálí corruption of Báyzid púr, which at once reminds us of Báyzid Sháh. We may attach some significance to this, as the name is evidently old; for the name of this very parganah occurs in the Áin i Akbarí (my text edition, p. 403, in Sirkár Panjrah).

bhaba its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dínájpúr and G'horág'hát. Bhatú-riah, therefore, is the district to both sides of the Atrai River.

The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí merely states the fact of Káns's usurpation, and assigns him a reign of seven years. Firishtah, who has been followed by Stewart, says that, "though no Muhammadan, he mixed with them and loved them, so much so that some Muhammadans testified to his conversion, and claimed for him a Muhammadan burial. After a vigorous reign of seven years, he went to the world of annihilation, and was succeeded by his son, who had the honor of being converted to Islám."

The Riyáz represents the views of the opponents of the Rájah, and gives the following:—

'When Sultán Shamsuddín died, Rájah Káns, a Hindú zamíndár, seized the whole kingdom of Bengal, and sat proudly on the throne. Oppression and bloodshed followed; he tried to kill all Muhammadans, and had many learned men murdered. In fact, his object was to drive Islám from his kingdom. One day, people say, Shaikh Badr ul Islám, son of Shaikh Mu'inuddín 'Abbás, went to the wicked tyrant, but did not greet him. When the Rájah asked him why he had not saluted him, he replied, "Learned men are not supposed to greet infidels, especially an infidel tyrant, who like thee sheds the blood of Muhammadans." The unclean heretic was silenced, he winced under the reply, and thought of nothing else but to kill the Shaikh. He, therefore, called him one day to a room, the door of which was very low and narrow. But the Shaikh saw through the plan,* and put his foot first over the threshold, and then entered without bending his head. This annoyed the Rájah so much, that he gave orders to take him to the path of his brethren. The Shaikh was at once executed. All the remaining learned men, on the same day, were put on board a ship and were drowned in the middle of the river.

'The usurpation of this infidel and the slaughter of Muhammadans drove at last the Saint Núr Quṭb ul 'Álam to despair, and he wrote a letter to Sultán Ibráhím i Sharqí (of Jaunpúr), *who at that time had extended his kingdom to the [Eastern] frontier of Bihár*,† complaining of the injustice done to Islám and the Muslims, and asking the king to march against the infidel. Ibráhím received the letter with due humility, and consulted with Qází

* The Rájah evidently wished the Shaikh to come to him in a stooping position, which might be looked upon as a 'salám'.

† The Jaunpúr kingdom was founded in 796, and Ibráhím Sharqí, the first titular Sultán, reigned from 804 to 844. The faulty chronology of the Ṭabaqát, Firishtah, and Stewart, makes Rájah Káns die in 794. The story of the Riyáz, therefore, agrees very well with the testimony of coins; but it is strange that the author of the Riyáz did not see the anachronism.

Shihábuddín Jaunpúrí, the chief of the learned of the age, who was allowed at court to sit on a silver chair. The Qází represented the worldly and religious advantages that would flow from a war with the infidel on the one hand, and from a visit to the great saint, on the other. The king, therefore, collected a large army, invaded Bengal, and pitched his camp at Sarái Fírúzpúr. Rájah Káns now applied to Quṭb ul 'Álam, begged to be forgiven, and asked him to intercede on his behalf with the king of Jaunpúr. The saint replied that at the request of an infidel he could not bid a Muhammadan king stop ; in fact, he had himself invited the enemy to come. The Rájah placed his head on the feet of the saint, and said, he was willing to perform anything he ordered him to do, whereupon Quṭb ul 'Álam told him that he would not interfere until he was converted to Islám. The Rájah placed the finger of acceptance upon his eye ; but the wife of the infidel led him back to perdition, and he evaded conversion. But he took his boy, who was twelve years old and had the name of Jadú, to the saint and said, " I have got old and wish to renounce the world ; make this boy a Muhammadan and give him the kingdom of Bengal." Quṭb ul 'Álam, thereupon, put some *pán* which he was chewing, into Jadú's* mouth, taught him the creed, and thus made him a Muhammadan, giving him the name of Jaláluddín. According to the Rájah's wish, he also sent a proclamation through the town, ordering the people to read the Friday prayer in the name of the new king. The blessed law of the prophet was thus carried out with new vigour. Quṭb ul 'Álam now went to king Ibráhím, and asked him to return. The king looked angrily at Qází Shihábuddín, who said to Quṭb ul 'Álam, " At your request the king has come here, and now you come to him as ambassador to implore his mercy. What shall men think of this ?" The saint replied, " When I called you, a tyrant oppressed the faithful ; but now, in consequence of your approach, the new ruler has become a Muhammadan ; fight with infidels, not with a king that belongs to the Faith." This silenced the Qází ; but as the king still looked angry, the Qází had the boldness to enter into a scientific discussion with the saint. After many questions and answers, Quṭb said, " To look on the poor with contempt or entangle them in examinations, brings no man prosperity. Your miserable end is at hand." He then looked even at the Sultán with expressions of anger. Ibráhím now got vexed, and returned with a sorry heart to Jaunpúr. It is said that not long after, Sultán Ibráhím and Qází Shihábuddín died.

' When Rájah Káns heard that Sultán Ibráhím was dead, he deposed Jaláluddín, took again the reins of the government into his own hands, and ruled according to his false tenets. He made several hollow cows of gold, threw Jalál into the mouth of one, and pulled him out behind ; the gold

* As saints do with their pupils, or in order to break the boy's caste.

was then distributed among the Brahmans. He hoped that the boy would thus return to his old faith. But as Jalál had been converted to Islám by a saint like Quṭb ul 'Álam, he remained faithful to his new belief, and the talk of the infidels made no impression upon him.

'Rájah Káns now again commenced to persecute the Muhammandans. When the measure of his cruelties was full, Shaikh Anwar, son of Quṭb ul 'Álam, said one day to his father, "It is a matter of regret that, with you as guardian saint, the Muhammadans have so much to suffer at the hand of this infidel." The saint was just at his devotions, and angry at the interruption, he exclaimed, "The misery will not cease till thy blood is shed," Anwar knew that whatever his father said, was sure to come true; he, therefore, replied that he was a willing martyr * * *. The oppression of Rájah Káns reached the climax, when he imprisoned Shaikh Anwar and his brother's son Shaikh Záhíd. But as he dared not kill them, he banished them to Sunnargáon, in the hope that they would confess where Quṭb ul 'Álam had buried his money and that of his father. But even though they were sent to Sunnargáon, and were much threatened, no money was found, because none had ever been buried, and Shaikh Anwar was ordered to be killed. Before his execution, he said that at such and such a place they would find a large pot. People dug and found a large vessel with only one gold coin in it. On being asked what had become of the other money, Anwar replied, "It seems to have been stolen." Anwar, no doubt, said so by inspiration from the unseen world.

'It is said that on the very day on which Shaikh^{*} Anwar died, Rájah Káns went from his palace to the infernal regions. But according to the statement of some, he was killed by his son Jaláluddín, who, though in prison, had won over the officers. The oppressive rule of this monster had lasted seven years.'

X. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sha'h.

According to the histories, he is the son* of Rájah Káns. His real name is given in the Riyáz as 'Jadú,' and by Firishtah as 'Jatmall' or 'Jaimall'—the MSS. differ. There is a place J a t m a l l p ú r, a little east of Dínájpúr, and we may assume the first name to be correct. As the coins of Báyzíd Sháh go up to 816, and the coins of Muhammad Sháh commence with 818, the latter year, or 817, must be the beginning of his reign; and if he reigned for seventeen years, as stated in the histories, his reign may have lasted from 818 to 835, which agrees with the year on Marsden's coin

* Stewart supposes that he was the eldest son of the Rájah by a Muhammadan concubine. According to the *Ṭabaqát* and *Firishtah*, he reigned seventeen years, and died in 812 A.H. Stewart says, eighteen years.

of his successor Ahmad Sháh (836). General Cunningham tells me that the Bodleian Library at Oxford has a specimen of 831.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 4, and Marsden, Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCCLXV. Silver. Weight, 166·89 grains. Mint town ? A.H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.)

Obverse area, bounded by sixteen convex scollops; reverse area, a four-leaved shamrock.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Margin, none.

REVERSE.—ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة في سنة ٨١٨

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and of the Muslims,—may his reign be perpetuated! This coin was struck in.....in the year 818.

Marsden gives this coin as dated 823, but his figure does not shew that year.

2. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 5. New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·695 grains. A. H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Obverse area as in No. 1; reverse, eight concave scollops.

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمدشاه السلطان

Margin, none.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين

Margin (ابوبكر) ضرب (عمر) سنة ثمان (عثمان) عشر (على) ثمانمائة

The just king Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims. (Abú Bakr) struck ('Umar) in the year ('Usmán) eighteen ('Alí) eight hundred [818, A. II.].

3. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 6. Silver. Weight, 155·725 grains. Sunnár-gaon (?), A. H. 821. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.) Obverse area, as in No. 1; reverse area, a square inscribed in a circle.

OBVERSE and REVERSE, as in No. 1.

Margin, ضرب * * * * (سناركانو) ٨٢١

During the time of Muhammad Sháh, says the Riyáz, the town of Panquah became so flourishing, that it cannot be sufficiently described. The king also built a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalálí Tank, and a Sarái in Gaur; in fact, Gaur also was again during his reign occupied. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 [822], he made the Palace of Gaur his residence. A large dome with his tomb still exists in Panquah, and the tombs of his wife and his son are at the side of his in the same vault.'

XI. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Ahmad Sha'h.

Marsden (Numismata, Pl. xxxvii, No. dcclxxiv) has published a silver coin of this king, whom the histories call the son of Muhammad Sháh. The coin bears the clear date 836 A.H. (1432-33, A.D.), and differs from the preceeding Bengal coins by having the Kalimah on one side.* The Tabaqát merely states that he reigned for sixteen† years, and died in 830 A. H., whilst Firishtah adds that he was a good and liberal king. The Riyáz gives him a different character. 'As Ahmad Sháh was of rough disposition, tyrannical, and blood thirsty, he shed the blood of innocent people, and tore open the bodies of pregnant women. When his cruelty had risen high, and great and small were in despair, Shádi Khán and Náçir Khán, two of his slaves, whom he had raised to the rank of Amírs, made a conspiracy and killed him. This took place in 830, after Ahmad Sháh had reigned sixteen, or, as some say, eighteen, years.'

'Shádi Khán now desired to get rid of Náçir Khán; but Náçir Khán outwitted him, killed him, and issued orders as king. The Amírs and Maliks, however, refused to obey him, and murdered him, after seven days, or, as some say, after twelve hours.'

With Ahmad Sháh ends the dynasty of Rájah Káns. Taking the year 817, the beginning of Muhammad Sháh's reign, as a well attested starting point, and assuming the duration of each reign as given in the histories to be correct, we would get—

	<i>Duration of reign.</i>	<i>Ascertained dates.</i>
Rájah Káns (Báyazid Sháh)	} 817 — 7, or 810 to 817.	
Muhammad Sháh,		Coins of 812 and 816.
Ahmad Sháh,		Coins of 818, 821, 823, 831.
	834 + 16, or 834 to 850.	Coin of 836.

Now above we saw that the last ascertained year for Hamzah Sháh's reign is 804. If we then allow, on the testimony of all histories, above three years to Shamsuddín, son of Saifuddín, we would be brought to the year 808, the commencement of the usurpation of Rájah Káns, and the reckoning, according to the data which we at present possess, is on the whole satisfactory.

The length of Ahmad Sháh's reign only is open to doubt; for if his reign be extended to 850, we are forced to assume that for the greater part of his rule he was vigorously and successfully opposed by Náçiruddín Mahmúd, whose coinage, as will be seen from the following, goes back at least to 846 A. H.

* The reading of the obverse is —

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المجاهد احمد شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

† Stewart has eighteen.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYA'S SHA'H DYNASTY.

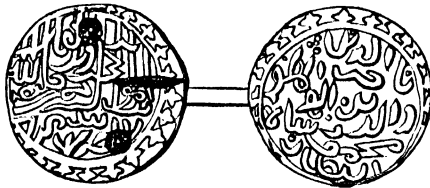
XII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd's Sha'h (I).

The histories agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyās Shāh. He seems to have been supported by the old party who were tired of Ahmad Shāh; old families are said to have gathered round him; and Gaur, the old capital, was rebuilt by him. The wars between Jaumpūr and Dihlī, as Firishtah correctly observes, gave Bengal rest, and Mahmūd Shāh, according to the histories, reigned in peace for thirty-two years, or according to some "not more than twenty-seven years," and died in A. H. 862.

In the histories, he is called by his first name Nāḡir Shāh, instead of Mahmūd Shāh. Bengal history presents several examples of similar inversions, if the retention of the familiar name of the king can be called so.

The chronology of Mahmūd Shāh's reign has been considerably cleared up by a coin in the possession of Col. H. Hyde, the President of our Society, and by the inscriptions received from General Cunningham and Dr. Wise. The dates now ascertained are 846; 861; 20th Sha'bān, 863; 28th Zil Hājjah, 863. Again, the oldest inscription of Bārbak Shāh, discovered by Mr. E. V. Westmacott, is dated Ḥafar, 865. We are, therefore, certain that Mahmūd Shāh must have reigned at least till the beginning of 864. But if the second statement of the histories regarding the length of his reign (27 years) be correct, we would get the year 836 as the first year of his reign, the very year in which Marsden's Ahmad Shāhī was struck. This would make Mahmūd Shāh an opposition king for the whole length of Ahmad Shāh's reign, which the histories say was not the case. We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Mahmūd's reign.

1. *Coin of Mahmūd Shāh.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·08 grains. (Col. H. Hyde.) A. H. 846. No mint-town. The margin contains little crosses.



OBVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن حجت خليفة الله [في الزمان؟] ضرب سنة ٨٤٦

REVERSE.—ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان

He who is assisted by the assistance of God, the evidence of the Khalīfah of God in this age, Nāḡiruddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh, the king. A. H. 846.

Mahmūd Shāh's coins hitherto published are almost valueless. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society has only one specimen, without date or mint-

town, like No. 8 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins (Journal XV, for 1846, Pl. rv). Some have the Muhammadan creed on one side in (so called) Tughrá characters, and, on the other side, the name of the king *Nāṣirud-dunyá waddin Abul Muẓaffar Mahmūd Sháh*. The margin of the specimen is unfortunately cut away. Mr. Laidley's No. 7 has the same obverse; the reverse is the same as on Hamzah Sháh's coins—*

ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه

But the three inscriptions of this king are very valuable, viz., one from Sātgaón, dated A. H. 861, or 1457 A. D.; one from Dháká, dated 20th Sha'bán, 863, or 13th June, 1459;† and one from Gaur, discovered by General Cunningham, dated 28th Zil Hijjah, 863, or 26th October, 1459.

No. 9. *The Mahmūd Sháh Inscription of Sātgaón* (A. H. 861).‡

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين و قال عز من قائل جل جلاله و عم نواله ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم و على آله و اصحابه من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة * * * * المؤيد بتأييد [الرحمن] * * * بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر [محمود] و شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شانه بناء الخان الاعظم المعظم المكرم المخاطب بخطاب

* I am doubtful whether Laidley's Nos. 11 and 12 belong to this king. The obverse of No. 11 consists of seven circles, four with 'Nāṣir Sháh,' and three with 'assultán,' the reverse is illegible. It is unlikely that the king should have called himself Nāṣir Sháh on some coins, when other coins and all inscriptions give his royal name 'Mahmūd Sháh.' Laidley's No. 12 is curious; it shews on the reverse the *kalimah* in clumsy Kufic characters, and on the obverse five circles with 'Mahmūd Sháh assultán.' In the centre of the piece are three rings, thus—*°. Three rings thus arranged are Timur's arms; vide Vambéry's Bokhara, p. 205.

† Received from Dr. J. Wise. It was published in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

‡ This inscription was first published by me in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, Part I, p. 293, where notes will be found on the locality. The name 'Mahmūd' is broken away, only the *dāl* is left, which in 1870, when I copied the inscription from the stone, I mistook for a *nún*. General Cunningham's rubbing leaves no doubt that it is a *dāl*. I therefore republish the inscription with this important correction.

تربيت خان سلمه الله تعالى عن آفات آخر الزمان بمنه وكمال كرمه في
سفة الحادى و ستين و ثمانماية ||

God Almighty says, 'Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided. And how beautifully does 'He whose glory shines forth and whose benefits are general, say, 'Surely the mosques belong to God, do not call on any other besides Allah.' And the Prophet says,—may God's blessing rest upon him and upon his house and his companions!—'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

* * * * by him who is assisted by the help of the Merciful, * * * by proof and evidence, the help of Islām and the Muslims, Nāṣiruddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaṣṣar [Mahmūd] Shāh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition! It was built by the great Khān, the exalted, the liberal, who has the title of Tarbiyat Khān—may God Almighty protect him from the evils of the end of time by His grace and the perfection of His mercy! In the year 861. [A. D. 1457.]

No. 10. *The Mahmūd Shāh Inscription of Hazrat Panḍuah*, (Pl. V, No. 4).

General Cunningham found this inscription at the Chhotā Dargāh in Panḍuah.

قال الله تعالى كل نفس ذايقة الموت وقال الله تعالى ان جاء اجلهم
فلا يستأخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون * قال الله تعالى كل من عليها فان
و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام * وانتقال مخدومنا العلامة استاد
الائمة برهان الامة شمس الملة حجة الاسلام والمسلمين نافع الفقراء والمساكين
مرشد الواصلين والمسترشدين من دار الفناء الى دار البقاء الثامن والعشرين
من ذى الحجة فى يوم الاثنين و كان ذلك من السنة الثامن و الستين
و ثمانماية فى عهد سلطان السلاطين حامى بلاد اهل اسلام و المسلمين
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمود شاه سلطان صانه الله بالامن والامان
وبنى هذا الروضة خان الاعظم لطيف خان سلمه من البليات والآفات ||

God Almighty says, 'Every creature tasteth death' (Qor., III, 182). He also says, 'When their fate comes, they cannot delay it an hour, nor anticipate it' (Qor., X, 50). He also says, 'Everything on earth fadeth, but the face of Thy Lord remaineth full of glory and honor.'

Our revered master, the teacher of Imáms, the pfoof of the congregation, the sun of the Faith, the testimony of Islám and of the Muslims, who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent, the guide of saints and of such as wish to be guided, passed away from this transient world to the everlasting mansion, on the 28th Zil Hijjah, a Monday, of the year 863, during the reign of the king of kings, the protector of the countries of the Faithful, Náqiruddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God keep him in safety and security! This tomb was erected by the great Khán, Latíf Khán,—may God protect him against evils and misfortunes!

XIII. Ruknuddín Abul Muja'hid Bárbak Sha'h.

The histories agree in calling him the son of Náqir Sháh, *i. e.*, Mahmúd Sháh, and in assigning him a reign of seventeen years. The Riyáz says, seventeen, *or sixteen*; and the latter statement is evidently nearer the truth, as by the preceding inscription Bárbak cannot have commenced to reign before 864.

To judge from the Tribení inscription published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 290, it would appear that Bárbak as prince was governor of south-western Bengal in 860; but the inscription styles him 'Malik,' not 'Sultán,' from which it is clear that he was no rebel.

The following inscription, which Mr. E. V. Westmacott found in Dínájpúr, is very valuable, as it proves that Bárbak was king in the very beginning of 865.

No. 11. *The Bárbak Sháh Inscription of Dínájpúr.*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين *
فَاللَّهُ خَيْرَ حَافِظٍ وَهُوَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ *

بِإِذْنِ الْمَسْجِدِ فِي الْعَهْدِ السَّلْطَانِ ابْنِ سُلْطَانِ رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ أَبُو
الْمَجْدِ بَارِكْشَاهِ سُلْطَانِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ
بِحُكْمِ إِشَارَةِ خَانَ اعْظَمَ وَ خَاقَانَ مَعْظَمَ يَهْلَوِي الْعَصْرِ وَالزَّمَانِ أَلْعَ اِقْرَارِ (؟)
خَانَ سِرْشَكْرُو وَ زِيَرِ بَانِي خَيْرِ مَسْجِدِ مَذْكُورِ وَ مَرْمُوتِ كَرْدُ رُوضَةِ خَانَ اعْظَمَ
وَ خَاقَانَ مَعْظَمَ أَلْعَ نَصْرَتِ خَانَ جَنْكَدَارِ وَ شَقْدَارِ مَعَامَلَاتِ جُورِ وَ بَرُورِ
وَ مَحَلَّاهِ دِيكَرِ فِي التَّارِيخِ السَّادِسِ وَ عَشْرِ مِنَ الشَّهْرِ الصَّغْرِ خْتَمَهُ اللَّهُ
بِالْخَيْرِ وَالْظَّفَرِ شَهْرُ سَنَةِ خَمْسِ وَ سِتِّينَ وَ ثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۥ

In the name of God the merciful and the element! A victory from God and a near success, and announce it to the Faithful (Qor. LXI, 13). God is excellent as a protector, and He is the most merciful of the merciful (Qor. XII, 64).

The building of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the king, the son of a king, Ruknuddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Shah, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God continue his kingdom and rule!—by the direction of the great Khán, the noble chief, the hero of the ago and the period, Ulugh Iqrár (?) Khán, commander and wazír, builder of this religious edifice, the said mosque. And the repairer of the tomb (is) the great Khán and noble chief Ulugh Nuçrat Khán, the janglár and shiqdár of the affairs of Jor and Barúr and of other Mahallahs. Dated, the 16th day of the month of Safar,—may God bring it to a happy and successful end!—of the year 865. (1st December, 1460, A. D.)*

Note on a Bárbak Sháh Inscription from Dinájpúr.—By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, Esq., C. S.

‘I send a rubbing of an inscription of the reign of Barbak Shah, A. H. 865. It states him to have been the son of Mahmood Shah, a point upon which a bit of additional evidence is not without value. It is very clearly cut on the usual black stone, which is commonly called basalt, but which is more like a slate. In one place I found the surface flaking off, and so brittle, that I was afraid to clear it of the whitewash, with which it was clogged, as thoroughly as I should have liked. The slab is about twenty-two inches by ten, and the inscription is in five lines.

‘It is let into the eastern front of a little brick-built mosque adjoining the grave of Chihil Ghazee, the Peer, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in his report on Dinagepore, p. 29. The grave, surrounded by an iron railing, is 5½ feet long, and is supposed to correspond to the stature of the saint. It is on the north side of the path up to the mosque, some hundred yards to the west of the Darjeeling road, four miles north of Dinagepore, and not far from the Gopalgunge temples. The Mootawallee is a very ignorant fellow, and I have found out nothing of the Peer beyond his name.

‘The founder of the mosque was “Shikdár of the affairs of Baroor,” and of another place. Baroor I take to be the parganah of that name, now in Poorniah, outside the western border of Dinagepore.

‘On each side of the inscription has been let into the wall a stud, or circular piece, of the same stone, which have on the right side of each a groove, as if for a clamp, which makes me think they were not originally cut for their present position. They are about eight inches in diameter. The centre of each bears in Tughra the *muhr i nubuwat* or ‘seal of prophethood,’ surrounding this is an inscription of which I send rubbings, but which neither the Moulawi nor I can decipher. In an outer ring, half an inch lower, the northern stone bears the inscription—

* I take this opportunity to correct the wrong reading of a title in the Bárbak Sháh Inscription published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Pt. I., p. 290, Inscr. VII, where for *جامدار عزوجل* I should have read *جامدار غيرمحل* *jámadár i ghair i mahallá*, as explained in Journal for 1872, Pt. I., p. 106.

این نقشه مهر تبوت که در میان دو شانه مبارک محمد مصطفی صلی
الله علیه و سلم بود ۱۱

This is the picture of the seal of prophetship which was between the two shoulders of Muḥammad Muṭṭafā—may God bless him !

‘As door steps to the mosque and to the enclosure surrounding the grave are pieces of hewn stone, similar pieces lying close by ; they are more or less carved and appear to be parts of doorways. Such stones are common in all parts of the district, and are said by tradition to have been brought from Bannagar, near Debkot. They are similar to the remains of Gour and Poroowa [Paṇḍuah]. On the south side of the path is the female portion of a *ling*, of large size, a queer ornament for the premises of a Mahomedan saint.

‘The mosque is somewhat ruinous, the roots of plants are tearing it in pieces. I think that it is of greater antiquity than most in the district, from the strength of the brick arches, the workmanship of the dome, and the fact that the hewn stones which are built into the inner side of each archway, have been cut to fit their places, although bearing marks of clamps to show they have been taken from another building.

‘Three archways, twenty-eight inches wide and nearly six feet high, lead into a vestibule twelve feet by five and a half, at each end of which a similar archway opens to the north and south. Three more archways lead into a chamber, twelve feet square, surmounted by a dome, now cracked in several directions. In the west wall are three niches, and two small archways on the north and south lead into the open air. On the inner side of each of the ten archways, a little below the spring of the arches, hewn stones, six or eight inches thick, are carried through the whole thickness of the wall which is three feet through. It is unusual in Dinagepore to find that the workmen have dressed the stone as they have here.

‘It is usual to build them in just as they are, often with most incongruous Hindoo carvings upon them.’

Regarding the “seal of prophetship,” it is said in the *Madārij-unnubuwwat* by ‘Abdul Haq of Dīblī, that the seal between the shoulders of the Prophet was a thing raised above the surrounding parts of his blessed body, resembling the body in colour, smoothness, and brightness. And it is stated in the *Mustadrīk* that Wāḥib ibn Munabbih said that no prophet was sent on earth that had not the sign of prophetship on his right hand, except the Prophet, who had the sign between the shoulders. Shaikh Ibn Hajar in his commentary to the *Mishkāṭ* says that the seal contained the words *والله وحده لا شريك له* ترجمه *هیچ کس نیست فانک منصور* and “God is one, He has no associate ; pay attention wherever thou art, for thou art victorious.”

Some traditions say that the seal was of light, and others, that it vanished from the skin when the Prophet expired, so much so that people knew by its disappearance that the prophet was really dead. Several authorities compare the seal to the egg of a pigeon: some call it a *غدة حمراء*, 'a red fleshknot,' and others say that it was a wart covered with hair.

Marsden gives a Bárbak coin which clearly shews the year 873.*

The cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains the following:—

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 7. New variety. Silver. Weight 164·025 grains. (Asiatic Society's Cabinet.) A specimen in the possession of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra weighs 164·335 grains.

OBVERSE.— *** لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان العالم العادل

REVERSE.— * * الاعظم المعظم باركشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان

Neither of these coins give Bárbak's full name.

XIV. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Yu'suf Sha'h, son of Bárbak Sháh.

Firishlah represents him as a learned man, who, after his accession, charged the 'Ulamá to see the law of the Prophet carried out. 'No one dared drink wine.'

The histories assign him a reign of seven years and six months, and say that he died in 887. If so, the end of his reign was marked by a successful rebellion of his uncle Fath Sháh; but it is just as likely that Yúsuf died early in 886.

Marsden has a coin of this king without year, and Laidley gives a new variety of 884.† General Cunningham's inscriptions give the following dates—

1. Panduah, 1st Muharram, 882, or 15th April, 1477.
2. Hazrat Panduah, 20th Rajab, 884, or 8th October, 1479.
3. Gaur, 10th Ramazán, 885, or 13th November, 1480.

No. 12. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Panduah, Húglí District.*‡

(Pl. VI, No. 1.) A. H. 882.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام

من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله له في الآخرة سبعين قصرا * بني المسجد في عهد السلطان الزمان الموبد بتأييد الديان خليفة الله بالجنة

* *Vide* also Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1870, Part I., p. 299, note.

† Bábu Rájendralála Mitra has a specimen (like Laidley's) of 883 خزانة. The margin, similarly to Fath Sháh's coins, contains shamrocks separated by dots. Weight 163·65 grains.

‡ *Vide* Journal, As. Socy., Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 300.

والبرهان السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باربكشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بني هذا المسجد المجاس المجاس
مجلس معظم المكرم صاحب السيف و القلم بهلوى العصر و الزمان الخ
مجلس اعظم سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين مؤرخا في اليوم الرابع الغرة
من شهر محرم سنة اثني و ثمانين و ثمانماية و تم بالخير ||

God Almighty says—' Surely the mosques belong to God.' Do not call on any one besides Allah. And he upon whom God's blessing rest, says, ' He who builds a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in the next world.' This mosque was built during the reign of the king of the age, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, the viceregent of God by proof and evidence, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuḥ Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The mosque was built by the Majlis ul Majális, the great and liberal Majlis, the lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Majlis i A'zam—may God Almighty protect him in both worlds!

Dated Wednesday, 1st Muharram, 882. Let it end well!

No. 13. *The Yúsuḥ Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.* A. H. 884.

قال النبي ﷺ صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بني الله له قسرا
في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد في زمن السلطان العادل البازل شمس
الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باربك شاه السلطان بن
محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه مجلس المجاس مجلس
اعلى اعلاه الله تعالى شأنه في الدارين و كان ذالك في التاريخ هجرة
النبي ﷺ صلى الله عليه وسلم في يوم الجمعة عشرين شهر رجب رجب قدره
سنة اربع و ثمانين ثمانماية ||

The Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) says, ' He who builds a mosque for God, shall have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of the just and liberal king Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuḥ Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the Majlis ul Majális, the exalted Majlis,—may God whose dignity is exalted also exalt him in both worlds! And this took place on Friday, the 20th Rajab (may the dignity of the month increase!) of the year 884, according to the era of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom God's blessing rest!

No. 14. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Gaur.* A.II. 885.

قال الذبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله
 تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان
 ابن السلطان بن السلطان بارك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان *
 بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان معظم * * * بتاريخ دهم ماه مبارك
 رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية ||

The Prophet, &c., &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king. The mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, * * * * [not legible.]

Dated, the 10th day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 885. (١٠ ربيع الثانی ٨٨٥)

A rubbing of another Yúsuf Sháhí Inscription has been received from Dr. J. Wise. Dr. Wise says—"The inscription is from one of the four mosques which surround the tomb of Sháh Jalál at Silhaṭ. It is a fine *Tughrá* inscription, but unfortunately one-third of it has been built into the masonry, the slab forming the lintel of the door!"

The inscription is—

No. 15. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Silhaṭ.*

*** ابو المظفر يوسف شاه ابن بارك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
 السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانى هذا المسجد المجلس الاعظم
 المعظم الدستور الساعي في الخيرات والمبرات المجلس الاعلى حفظ الله
 تعالى عن الآفات ***

*** Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! And the builder is the great and exalted Majlis, the wazír (*dastúr*), who exerts himself in good deeds and pious acts, Majlis i A'lá—may God preserve him against the evils and **

To judge from Dr. Wise's rubbing, the inscription, in point of beauty, ranges immediately after the Sikandar Sháh inscription No. 8, mentioned above, and it would be well, if the *Sar i qaum*, 'the head of the clan,' as the Mutawallí of the tomb is called, would take steps to have this beautiful inscription taken out of the masonry, and thus restore it to light and history.

Dr. Wise has also sent the following interesting note on Sháh Jalál.

Note on Sháh Jalál, the patron saint of Silhaṭ.—By DR. J. WISE,
ДНÁКА'.

The following abridgment of the life and miraculous adventures of Sháh Jalál, the conqueror of Silhaṭ in the 14th century, is taken from the Suhail-i-Yaman, written by Náṣiruddín, late Munçif of Silhaṭ; his work was composed in the year 1859. It is an abstract of two earlier histories, one of which is called the "Risálah of Muhi-uddín Khádim;" the other, by an unknown author, is designated the "Rauzatus-Salaṭín."

According to the Munçif, Sháh Jalál Mújarrid Yamaní was the son of a distinguished saint, whose title of Shaikh ush-Shuyúkḥ is still preserved. He belonged to the Quraish tribe. Sháh Jalál's father was named Muhammad; his grandfather Muhammad Ibráhím. His mother was a Sayyidah. She died within three months of the birth of this her only son. His father died fighting in a *jihád* against the infidels.

The youth was adopted by his maternal uncle Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Suhrwardí, a Darwish of no mean accomplishments, who had studied under the renowned Sháh Jalál ud-dín Bukhárí.

For thirty years Sháh Jalál is said to have lived in a cave without crossing the threshold. He was at last summoned from his seclusion by his uncle, owing to the following circumstance. One day seated in front of his house at Makkah, lost in contemplation, Sayyid Ahmad saw a doe big with young approach him. The doe related how a lion had appeared in the wood in which she lived, and was killing all her comrades. She finally requested him to come and drive away the brute. Sháh Jalál was called forth from his cave, and directed to go and turn out the lion. On the way he puzzled himself what was to be done when the lion was seen. Unexpectedly, however, he met the animal, and the lustre which shot from his eye was so dazzling, that the lion fled and was heard of no more.

On his return, Sayyid Ahmad was so pleased with his behaviour, that he gave him a handful of earth and told him to go forth and wander over the world, until he found earth of similar colour and smell. Where he did, he was there to make his abode.

Hindústán was then the land to which adventures directed their steps, and Sháh Jalál followed their example. He passed by a city of Yaman, the king of which was informed that a great Darwish was near. He accordingly sent a cup of deadly poison instead of sharbat, to test his power. Sháh Jalál at once divined its nature, and informed the king's messengers that the instant the draught was swallowed, the king would die. The poison was quaffed without injury to the saint, but, as foretold, the king died.

Sháh Jalál proceeded on his course, but four days afterwards he was overtaken by the Sháhzádah, who had determined on leaving his kingdom and on following the saint in his wanderings.

After journeying for many days, they arrived at Dihlí, where the celebrated Nizám-uddin Auliya then resided. When Sháh Jalál entered the city, Nizám-uddin was sensible of the arrival of a saint. He, therefore, sent messengers to search for him and to invite him to come and eat with him. Sháh Jalál accepted the invitation and gave the messengers a bottle filled with cotton, in the centre of which he placed a live coal. The receipt of this wonderful bottle satisfied Nizám-uddin that this was no common Darwísh. He accordingly treated him with every honour, and on his departure he gave him a pair of black pigeons.

The narrative is now transferred to Silhat. In a Mahallah of that city, called Tol-takar, resided at this period Shaikh Burhán-uddin. How a Muhammadan got there, or what he was doing so far away from his own countrymen, puzzles Muhi-uddin, who thinks that this solitary believer must have belonged to some Hindú family, and that he could not have been a true Muhammadan. Burhán, the story goes, had made a vow, that if he was blessed with a son, he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born, he performed his vow; but as bad luck would have it, a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind, the king of Silhat, and complained. The king sent for Burhán and the child; and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow, the child was ordered to be put to death, and the right hand of the father was cut off.

Burhán-uddin left Silhat and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing of what had occurred, ordered his nephew (*bhánjá*), Sultán Sikandar, to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Sunnargáon with an army.

When news reached Silhat that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind, who was a powerful magician, assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued, the Muhammadans were routed, and Sultán Sikandar with Burhán-uddin fled. The Prince wrote to his uncle, informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war against such foes. The monarch on receiving the news, gathered together the astrologers, and conjurers, and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging, and Naqir-uddin Sipahsálár was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultán Sikandar. This re-inforcement, however, did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery, and it was decided to consult with Sháh Jalál, who with 360 Darwíshes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultán and Naqiruddin proceeded to the camp of the saints,

where the Sháh encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer, and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils. Along with the Sháh were Sayyid Muhammad Kabír, Sayyid Hají Ahmad Sání, Shaikh Abul Muzaffar, Qází Amínuddín Muhammad, Sháhzádah Yamání, &c., &c.

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them, and Gaur Gobind, driven from one position to another, at last sought refuge in a seven-storied temple in Silhat, which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple, and Sháh Jalál prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective, that each day one of the stories fell in, and, on the fourth day, Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

The terms agreed to, Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (*kohistán*). While at his protracted prayers, Sháh Jalál discovered that the earth on which he was kneeling was of the same colour and smell as that given him by the Makkah Darwish. He, therefore, determined on establishing his abode there. With him remained Sháhzádah Yamání, Hájí Yúsuf, and Hájí Khalál. The rest of the saints retired with the army.

The remainder of Sháh Jalál's life was spent in devotion and in miraculous actions, which still live in the traditions of the people. It is believed that Sháh Jalál never looked on the face of woman. One day, however, standing on the bank of a stream, he saw one bathing. In his simplicity, he asked what strange creature it was. On being informed, he was enraged, and prayed that the water might rise and drown her. He had no sooner expressed this wish than the water rose and drowned her. Other less questionable actions are related regarding him. For instance, he caused the corpse of Naqir-uddín Sipahsálár, who died at Silhat, to disappear from a Mosque, while the friends were mourning over it. On another occasion he wished that a fountain like the holy Zamzam of Makkah might spring up near his abode, and immediately the fountain appeared.

Sháh Jalál was translated (*intiqa'l*) the 20th of the "Kali Chand," A. H., 591, in the 62nd year of his age.

Dr. Wise also writes—"It is a curious fact that the Sháh is invoked by the Silhat *gánjah* (hemp) smokers. I have got a Silhat lunatic, who every day before smoking his *chillum* of tobacco invokes the saint in the following manner :—

*Ho ! Bisheshwar Lál,
Tin lál'h Pír Sháh Jalál,
Ek bár, dubára, Jagannath jí ká piyára
Kháne ká dúdh bhát, bajáne ko dotára.*

The chronology of the 'Life of Sháh Jalál,' as Dr. Wise observes, is confused. His death is put down as having occurred in 591, A.H., and he said to have visited Nizámuddín Auliá, who died in 725, A. H. Again, according to the legends still preserved in Silhat, the district was wrested from Gaur Govind, the last king of Silhat, by king Shamsuddín in 1384 A. D., or 786 A. H., during the reign of Sikandar Sháh, whilst 'king Shamsuddín' can only refer to Shamsuddín Ilyás Sháh, Sikandar's father.

Dr. Wise also draws attention to the statement made by Ibn Batúṭah who "from Sadkáwán [Chátgáon] travelled for the mountains of Kámrú [Kámrúp, western Ásám]. * * His object in visiting these mountains was to meet one of the saints, namely, Shaikh Jalál uddín of Tabríz."* Jalál then gives him a garment for another saint 'Burhán uddín,' whom Ibn Batúṭah visits in Khánbálík (Pekin). Ibn Batúṭah, as remarked above, was in Eastern Bengal, when Fakhruddín was king (739 to 750, A. H.). But here again the confusion of dates and names is very great. Jalál uddín of Tabríz died, as we saw above, in 642, and the Silhat Jalál is represented as a man from Yaman.† Neither Jalál nor Burhánuddín is mentioned in the biographical works of Muhammadan Saints.

XV. Sikandar Sha'h II.

The Riyáz says that this king was the *son* of Yúsuf Sháh ; the other histories say nothing regarding his relationship. Stewart calls him "a youth of the royal family," but afterwards calls Fath Sháh his "uncle." The Riyáz says that he was deposed on the same day on which he was raised to the throne ; the Aín i Akbarí gives him half a day ; my MS. of the Ṭabaqát, two and a half days ; Firishtah mentions no time ; and Stewart gives him two months.

XVI. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sha'h, son of Mahmúd Sháh.

Fath Sháh was raised to the throne, as "Sikandar Sháh did not possess the necessary qualifications." The histories say that his reign lasted from 887 to 896, A. H., and yet, they only give him seven years and five months (Stewart, seven years and six months). The inscriptions and coins, however, given below shew that he reigned in 886 ; and if the "seven years and five months" are correct, Fath Sháh could only have reigned till 892 or 893, which agrees with the fact that his successor Fírúz Sháh II. issued coins in 893. Fath Sháh was murdered at the instigation of the Eunuch Bárbak.

Laidley has published two silver coins of this king, of which one seems to have been struck at Fathábád in 892. The following is a new variety.‡

* Lee, Ibn Batúṭah, p. 195.

† Vide the Silhat Inscription of 1505, given below under Husain Sháh.

‡ The coin given by Marsden as a Fath Sháhí does not belong to this king.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 8. Silver. Weight, 158·65 grains. *Fathábád*, A. H. 886. (As. Soc. of Bengal, one specimen.) Circular areas. The margin consists of ornamental designs, resembling the niches in mosques and rosettes.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه سلطان

REVERSE.—ابن محمود شاه السلطان مجده الله الفتح فتحاباد ٨٨٦

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaḥfar Fath Sháh Sultán, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God strengthen him with victory! *Fathábád*, 886.

The following five inscriptions of this king have been received by the Society—

1. *Dháká*, 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, or 2nd January, 1482.
2. *Dhámraí*, 10th Jumáda I., 887, or 27th June, 1482. Published, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 109.
3. *Bikrampur*, middle of Rajab, 888, or August, 1483.
4. *Sunnárgáon*, Muharram, 889, or beginning of A. D. 1484.
5. *Sátgáon*, 4th Muharram, 892, or 1st January, 1487. Published, J. A. S. B., Pt. I, 1870, p. 294.

No. 16. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Bandar, near Dháká.*

A. H. 886. (Pl. VII, No. 1.)

The Society is indebted to Dr. J. Wise for this important inscription, regarding which he writes as follows—"The inscription was found on an old Masjid at Bandar, on the banks of a K'hál called Tribení, opposite Khizrpúr (Dháká). This K'hál was in former days the junction of the Brahmaputra, Lak'hya, and Ganges. At its opening on the left bank of the Lak'hya, a fort still stands, said to have been built by Mír Jumlah [*vide* Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1872, Pt. I, p. 96]. The place called Bandar is now a mile inland (*vide* Pl. IV), but during the height of the rains, the K'hál is navigable for native boats. The inscription is the most perfect as yet met with in this District."

قال الله تعالى و أن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * قال الدي
ملي الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له تقصرا فى الجنة •
بنى هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم بابا صالح فى زمان السلطان
ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود
شاه السلطان خلف الله ملكه و سلطانه فى تاريخ اول شهر ذى القعدة سنة
ت و ثمانين و ثمانماية من الهجرة النبوية ١١

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God. Do not associate any one with God.' The Prophet, may God bless him!—says, 'He who builds a mosque, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.'

This auspicious mosque was built by the great Malik Bá bá Sálíh in the reign of the king, the son of the king, Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muza'far Fath Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—on the 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, A. H. (2nd January, 1482, A. D.).

The builder of the mosque appears to have been a very pious man. Three miles west from Sunnárghaon, Dr. J. Wise discovered a mosque built by the same man, and adjoining the mosque his tomb. The masjid is within half a mile of the mosque to which the preceding inscription belongs, and was built in 911, A.H. A portion of the date of the inscription is designedly, as it would appear, chipped off.

No. 17. *The Bá bá Sálíh Inscription of Sunnárghaon.*

قال الله تبارك وتعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بني هذا
المسجد المبارك في زمن السلطان علاؤ الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه الملك المعظم المكرم خدام النبي حاجي
الحرمين وزائر القديمين حاجي بابا صالح *** دي *** وتسمانية من
الحجرة النبوية ||

God Almighty says, &c. [as above]. This blessed mosque was built in the reign of Sulṭán 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'far Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his reign!—by the great and liberal Malik, the servant of the Prophet, who has made a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah and has visited the two footprints of the Prophet, Hájí Bá bá Sálíh. Dated 911, A.H.

The wanting words are no doubt *في سنة حادي عشر*, which would be 911. A small slab let in the brick work of Bá bá Sálíh's tomb contains the following date of his death.

No. 18. *The Inscription on Bá bá Sálíh's Tomb.*

الله لا اله الا هو ليجمعكم الى يوم القيامة لا ريب فيه و من اصدق من
الله حديثنا ||

*** روضة الحاجي الحرميين الزاير القديمين خدام النبي عليه السلام
حاجي بابا صالح الم *** في تاريخ *** ربيع الاول من سنة اثني ***

O God! There is no God but He. He will surely collect you towards the day of resurrection, and who is more truthful a speaker than God? [Qor., IV. 89.] ** the tomb of the pilgrim to Makkah and Madínah, who has visited both footprints of the Prophet, the servant of the Prophet (upon whom be peace!), Hájí Bá bá Sálíh ** (*almutawaffú*, who died) on ... Rabi' I., ... 2.

Thus it seems that he died in A. H. 912. Dr. Wise says—“No one here has heard of the name of this pious man. The neighbourhood of these mosques is very old. Qadam Rasúl (the ‘Footprint of the Prophet’), a famous place of pilgrimage, on a mound some sixty feet high, is a little to the north-west. Gangakol Bandar is on the west, and across the Lak’hya River is Khizr púr with the ruins of what I believe was the residence of ‘Isá Khán, mentioned in the *Aín i Akbari*.”

• A third mosque built by Bába Sálíh is in ‘Azímnagar, District Dháká.

No. 19. *The Bába Sálíh's Inscription of 'Azímnagar.*

قال الدَّبِيّ صَلَّى الله عليه و سلم عجلوا بالصَّلاة قبل الفوت و عجلوا
بالذوبة قبل الموت * بني هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم المكرّم
بابا صالح و قد تمّ بناء هذا المسجد في أوّل المحرم سنة ٩١٠

The Prophet—may God bless him!—says, ‘Make quick the prayer before the end, and hasten the *naubat* before death. This blessed mosque was built by the exalted, liberal Malik, Bába Sálíh, and the building was completed on the first Muharram 910 [or 901,—the numbers are unclear].

No. 20. *The Fath Sháh Inscription on Adam Shahíd's Mosque at Bikrampúr (Dháká District). A. H. 888.*

General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise have each sent rubbings of this inscription.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال الدَّبِيّ
صَلَّى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني الله له مثله في
الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع الملك المعظم ملك كافور في زمان
السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان
ابن محمود شاه السلطان في تاريخ اوسط شهر رجب سنة ثمان و ثمانين
و ثمانماية

God Almighty says, &c., [as above]. This Jámí Masjid was built by the great Malik, Malik Kalúr, in the time of the king, the son of the king, Jaláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaḥfar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king, in the middle of the month of Rájab, 888, A. H. (August, 1483, A. D.)

Dr. Wise writes as follows—

‘The Masjid of Adam Shahíd is in Bikrampúr at a village called Qází Qaḡbah, within two miles of Ballálbári, the residence of Ballál Sen. Mr.

Taylor, in his "Topography of Dacca" states that Ádam Shahíd, or Bááb Ádam, was a Qází, who ruled over Eastern Bengal. He gives no authority for this statement, and, at the present day, the residents of the village are ignorant of this fact. They relate that Bááb Ádam was a very powerful Darwish, who came to this part of the country with an army during the reign of Ballál Sen. Having encamped his army near 'Abdullahpúr, a village about three miles to the N. E., he caused pieces of cow's flesh to be thrown within the walls of the Hindú prince's fortress. Ballál Sen was very irate, and sent messengers throughout the country to find out by whom the cow had been slaughtered. One of the messengers shortly returned and informed him that a foreign army was at hand, and that the leader was then praying within a few miles of the palace. Ballál Sen at once galloped to the spot, found Bááb Ádam still praying, and at one blow cut off his head.

'Such is the story told by the Muhammadans of the present day, regardless of dates and well-authenticated facts.

'The Masjid of Bááb Ádam has been a very beautiful structure, but it is now fast falling to pieces. Originally, there were six domes, but three have fallen in. The walls are ornamented with bricks beautifully cut in the form of flowers and of intricate patterns. The arches of the domes spring from two sandstone pillars, 20 inches in diameter, evidently of Hindú workmanship. These pillars are eight-sided at the base, but about four feet from the ground they become sixteen-sided. The *mihrábs* are nicely ornamented with varied patterns of flowers, and in the centre of each is the representation of a chain supporting an oblong frame, in which a flower is cut.

'The style of this Masjid is very similar to that of the old Goáldih Masjid at Sunnárghaon and to that of 'Isá Khán's Masjid at Khizrpúr.*

No. 21. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Sunnárghaon.* A. H. 889.

General Cunningham has sent a rubbing of the following inscription—

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * وقال الذبِّي
صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له سبعين قصرا في
الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان الاعظم المعظم جلال الدنيا

* Dr. Wise, in one of his letters addressed to the Society, makes the following remark on Sher Sháh's road from the Brahmaputra to the Indus.

"I see in the last volume of Elliot's 'History of India' that doubts are expressed of there ever having been a road made from Sunnárghaon to the Indus by Sher Sháh, as mentioned by Firishtah and others. In this district there are two very old bridges, which local tradition states were constructed by that monarch, and which lie exactly where such a road would have been. One is still used, the other has fallen in."

وَالدِّينِ ابْنِ ابْنِ مَظْفَرٍ فَتَحَ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ
 مَلِكُهُ وَ سُلْطَانُهُ * بَانِي الْمَسْجِدِ مَقْرَبِ الدَّوْلَةِ مَلِكٌ . . . * . الدِّينِ سُلْطَانِي
 جَامِدَارٍ غَيْرِ مَحَلِّيٍّ وَ سِرْلَشْكُرٍ وَ زَبِيرِ أَقْلِيمِ مَعْظَمِ آبَادٍ وَ نَيْزِ مَشْهُورِ مُحَمَّدِ آبَادٍ وَ
 سِرْلَشْكُرِ تَهَانَةِ لَادٍ وَ كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَ ثَمَانِينَ
 وَ ثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۥ

God Almighty says, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., (as before).

This mosque was built during the reign of the great and exalted king, Jalál-uddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The builder of the mosque is Muqarrab uddaulah, Malik.....uddín, the Royal, keeper of the wardrobe outside the Palace, the commander and wazír of the territory of Mu'azzamábád, also known as Mahmúdábád, and commander of Thánah Láwúd. This took place during Muharram, 889. (A. D. 1484.)

The geographical names occurring in this inscription have been discussed above.

THE HABSHI' KINGS.

The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Bárbak Sháh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the *kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. The very names of the actors during the interregnum between the end of the Ilyás Sháh dynasty and the commencement of the house of Husain Sháh, proclaim them to have been Abyssinian eunuchs;* and what royalty at that time was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that, after the murder of Fath Sháh, low hirelings flourished;† and Firishtah sarcastically remarks that the people would only obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne. Faria y Souza also says of the kings of that time:—

“They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years' space they had 13 kings successively.”

* Names as Káfúr (camphor), Qaranful (clove), Fírúz and Fírúzah (turquoise), Almás (diamond), Yáqút (cornelian), Habshí Khán, Indíl, Sídí Badr, &c. Camphor was looked upon as an anti-aphrodisiac (*vide* my Aín translation, p. 385); hence the name was appropriate. The Fath Sháh inscription No. 20 mentions a Malik Káfúr; and we are reminded of the Káfúr Hazárdínárí of 'Aláuddín's reign.

† ‘The kings of Bengala, in times past, were chosen of the Abassine or Æthiopian slaves, as the Soldans of Cairo were some time of the Circassian Mamalukes.’ *Purchas.*

The Habshí kings are Sultán Sháhzádah, Fírúz Sháh, and Muzaffar Sháh. Mahmúd Shah II. appears to belong to the old dynasty.

XVII. Sulta'n Sha'hza'dah.

(Bárbak, the Eunuch.)

The owner of this odd title reigned either two and a half months (Ṭabaqát and Firishtah), or perhaps eight months (Firishtah), or according to a pamphlet which the author of the Riyáz possessed, six months. • He was murdered by

XVIII. Saifuddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sha'h (II.).

(Malik Indíl Habshí.)

He had been a distinguished commander under Fath Sháh, and proved a good king. According to the histories, he died a natural death after a reign of three years, in 899,—a wrong date. The Riyáz says that a mosque, a tower, and a reservoir, in Gaur were built by him.

The coin published by Marsden as belonging to this king, has been shewn by Mr. Thomas to belong to Fírúz Sháh Bahmaní.

The following passage from João de Barros refers to either this king or Husain Sháh :—

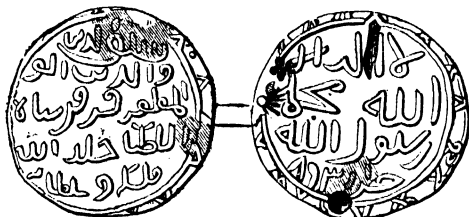
‘One hundred years before the Portuguese visited Chátgáon, a noble Arab arrived there from 'Adan (Aden), bringing with him 200 men. Seeing the state of the kingdom, he began to form ambitious projects of conquest. Dissimulating his intentions, he set himself up as a commercial agent, and on this pretext added to his followers a reinforcement of 300 Arabs, thus raising his total force to 500 men. Having succeeded through the influence of the *Mandarijs*, who were the governors of the place, in procuring an introduction to the king of Bengal, he assisted that monarch in subduing the king of Orísá, his hereditary foe. For this service he was promoted to the command of the King's body-guard. Soon afterwards he killed the king, and himself ascended the throne. The capital was at this time at Gaur.’

The chronology of Fírúz Sháh II.'s reign may be fixed with the help of the following, apparently unique, coin, the original of which is in the British Museum. Col. Guthrie kindly sent the Society a cast, from which the woodcut below has been made. The coin gives the year 893 (A. D., 1488). This year entirely agrees with the ascertained dates of Jaláluddín Fath Sháh's reign, and with the earliest ascertained year of Muzaffar Sháh. Fírúz Sháh II., therefore, reigned from 893 to 895, or 896. The former, 895, is perhaps preferable to 896, because both Mahmúd Sháh and Muzaffar Sháh reigned in 896.

I. Fírúz Sháh II. Silver. No mint town. A. H., 893. (A. D. 1488.) No margins.

OBVERSE.—**يُف الدنْيا والدين ابر المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه**
وسلطانه

REVERSE.—**لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٩٣**



Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fīrūz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Treasury issue of 893.

XIX. Na'siruddī'n Abul Muja'hid Mahmu'd Sha'h (II).

He was raised to the throne on Fīrūz Sháh's death, though the government was in the hands of one Habshí Khán. After a short time, Habshí Khán, and immediately after, Mahmúd Sháh, were killed by Sidí Badr Dīwánah, who proclaimed himself king.

Though the histories call Mahmúd the son of Fīrūz Sháh, there is little doubt that the statement of Hájí Muhammad Qandahári, preserved by Firishtah, is correct—"In the history by Hájí Muhammad Qandahári,* it is written that Sultán Mahmúd was the son of Fath Sháh, and that Habshí Khán was a eunuch of Bárbak Sháh, who by Fīrūz Sháh's orders had brought up Mahmúd. After Fīrūz Sháh's death, Mahmúd was placed on the throne; but when six months had passed, Habshí Khán shewed inclination to make himself king, and Sidí Badr killed him." These facts agree well with the following circumstances: *First*, all histories say that Fath Sháh, at his death, left a son two years old, and his mother, at Sultán Sháhzádah's death, declared herself willing to leave the throne to him, who had brought her husband's murderer to account. *Secondly*, according to Muhammadan custom, children often receive the names of the grandfather; hence Fath Sháh would call his son Ná'iruddín Mahmúd; but as the *kunya* must be different, we have here 'Abul Mujáhid,' while the grandfather has 'Abul Muzaffar.'

General Cunningham found the following inscription of this king. in Gaur; unfortunately, the date is illegible.

* The Lak'hnan edition of Firishtah calls him 'Hájí Mahmúd.' His historical work is not known at the present day.

No. 22. *The Mahmūd Sháh (II) Inscription of Gaur.* (A. H. 896 ?)
(Pl. VII, No. 3.)

قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له قسرا
فى الجنة * بنى المسجد فى عهد سلطان الزمان بالعدل والاحسان غوث
الاسلام والمسلمين ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه السلطان
خلفه الله ملكه و سلطانه بنى المسجد الخان الاعظم المعظم الغ مجلس
خان *** فى التاريخ الثالث والعشرين من شهر ربيع الا [دل سنة ست
وتسعين وثمانماية ؟]

The Prophet (may God bless him !) says, 'He who builds, &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the time, (who is endowed) with justice and liberality, the help of Islām and the Muslims, Nāṣiruddunyā waddīn Abul Mujaḥhid Mahmūd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the great and exalted Khān Ulugh Majlis Khān.....(illegible). Dated, 23rd Rabi'.....

Marsden has published a silver coin of this king, which has likewise no date (*vide* Numism., Pl. XXXVI, No. DCCXXIV); but, as Laidley correctly observes, he ascribes it wrongly to Mahmūd Sháh of Dillí. The legend of the coin is—

REVERSE.—(?) المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالعدل والاحسان

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه
السلطان

The words *bil'adl wal-ihsán* are not clear, they may also be *العصر والزمان* as elsewhere suggested by me; but the former coincides with the phrase used in the inscription. I cannot see the word *فتحاباد*, which Laidley gives.

According to the chronological remarks made by me regarding the reign of Firúz Sháh, we have to place Mahmūd Sháh's reign in 896, A. H.

XX. Shamsuddīn Abul-Nasr Muzaffar Sha'h.

(Sídí Badr Dīwānah.)

The reign of this king, who is represented to have been a blood-thirsty monster, is said in all histories to have lasted three years and five months; but his death at the hands of the next king cannot have taken place in 903, because his coins and inscriptions mention the years 896 and 898. He must, therefore, have been killed in 899, the first year in which Husain Sháh struck coins.

A Muzaffar Sháh inscription was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 107, from an imperfect rubbing. Since then Mr. W. M. Bourke

has sent me a clear rubbing with the date distinct. I, therefore, republish it with a corrected translation.

No. 23. *The Muzaḥfar Sháh Inscription of Gangarâmḥar.*

A. H. 896. (A. D. 1491.)

بني هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد المخدم المشهور قطب اوليا مخدم
مولانا عطا طيب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه في عهد شمس الدنيا
والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في التاريخ
ست و تسعين و ثمانماية ١١

This mosque was built in the time (?) of the renowned saint, Mauláná 'Atá—may God render his grave pleasant and may He make Paradise his dwelling place!—during the reign of Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul-Naḥr Muzaḥfar Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Dated, A. H. 896.

Mr. Bourke's rubbing shews that the word *samánmiah* is cut into the second bar, which separates the third line from the second. Below the last line there is another line cut into the lowest bar; but the letters are too small and partly broken to admit of a satisfactory reading. I can recognize the words 'Mullá Mubárak' and *m̃már*, 'builder.'

Laidley has published a silver coin of this king, the legend of which is (*vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, for 1846, Pl. V, No. 19)—

OBVERSE.—شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—The Kalimah. Year, illegible.

Margin.—the four Khalifahs.

The Honorable E. C. Bayley is about to publish a gold Muzaḥfar Sháhí, which seems to be of 896, A. H.

Muzaḥfar Sháh, according to the Riyáz, built a mosque in Gaur. General Cunningham has sent the Society a rubbing of another inscription from the Chhotá Dargáh (Núr Qutb 'Álam's Dargáh) in Hazrat Panḍuah. It is, in point of execution, a very fine inscription.

No. 24. *The Muzaḥfar Sháh Inscription of Panḍuah.* A. H. 898.

Vide Pl. VI, No. 2.

قال الله تعالى ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركا و هدي
للعالمين فيه آيات بيدات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان آمنا والله اعلي
الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفرنا الله غفي

عن العالمين • بني في البيت الصّوفة الرّوضة قطب الانطاب قتيل
 محبّت وهاب شيخ المشايخ حضرت نور الحق والّشرع سيّد قطب عالم
 قدس الله سرّه العزيز و نور الله قبره * بني هذا البيت في عهد السّلاطان
 العادل البازل الفاضل غوث الاسلام والمسلمين شمس الدنيا والدين
 ابو النّصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شأنه
 بني هذا البيت في خلافة شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين شيخ المشايخ ابن شيخ
 المشايخ شيخ محمد غوث سلمه الله تعالى دائما مؤرخا فى السّبع والعشر
 من شهر رمضان مبارك فى سنة ثمان تسعين ثمانماية ||

God Almighty says, ' Verily, the first house that was founded for men, is the one in Bakkah [Makkah], blessed, and a guidance to all beings. In it are clear signs: the place of Abraham, and who entered into it, was safe, and God enjoined men to visit it, if they are able to go there; but whosoever disbelieves, verily God is independent of all beings. [Qor. III, 90 to 92.)

In this Sūfī building the tomb of the pole (*qutb*) of poles was built, who was slain by the love of the All-Giver, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Hazrat Nūr ul Haq washsharāf, Sayyid Qutb 'Alam—may God sanctify his beloved secret, and may God illuminate his grave! This house was built in the reign of the just, liberal, learned king, the help of Islām and the Muslims, Shamsuddunyā waddīn Abul- Naḡr Muzaḡfar Shāh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and may He elevate his condition and dignity! This house was built during the *khilāfat** of the Shaikh ul-Islām, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus—may God Almighty ever protect him!

Dated, 17th Ramazān, 898. [2nd July, 1493.]

Nūr Qutb 'Alam was mentioned above among the Saints of Paḡduah.

THE HUSAINÍ DYNASTY.

On Muzaffar Shāh's death in 899, 'Aláuddīn Husain Shāh, son of Sayyid Ashraf, usurped the throne. Of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the name of "Husain Shāh, the good," is still remembered from the frontiers of Orisá to the Brahmaputra.

I have treated of the chronology of the reigns of Husain Shāh and his successors in my article, "On a new king of Bengal, &c.," published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, pp. 331 to 340, and according to that paper, we have—

* The reign, if I may say so, of a spiritual teacher.

1. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, 899 to 927 (929 ?).
2. Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, 927 (929 ?) to 939.
3. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh (III.), 939.
4. Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III.), 940 to 944, (defeated by Sher Sháh).

I have now only to describe a few unpublished coins and to give several new inscriptions belonging to the reigns of these kings.

XXI. 'Ala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Husain Sha'h.

Marsden (Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. DCCCLXXIX and DCCXCIII) has given two different Husain Sháhís, the former of Fathábád, 899, A. H., and the latter of Husainábád, 914, A. H.* Laidley has two new types, one struck at Husainábád, 912, A. H., and the other (*vide* his plate, No. 21) resembling that of Marsden, but with a different legend. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society contains a few new varieties, with and without dates.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 9. Silver. Weight, 163·57 grains. No mint-town. A. H. 900. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE. — السلطان العادل علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—حسين شاه سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خاد ملكه و سلطانه ٩٠٠

Col. Guthrie in a MS. list of Bengal Coins in the British Museum quotes Husain Sháhís struck at Jannatábád (Husainábád ?) in 918 and 919.

The inscriptions belonging to Husain Shah's reign are most numerous; the date of the latest two is 925, A.H. Those of which the Society has received rubbings from General Cunningham are marked [G. C.].

1. *Munger*, 903; mentions Prince Dányál. Published *Journal*, 1872, p. 335. [G. C.].

2. *Machain, Pargana Ballipúr, Dháká*, 22nd Jumáda I, 907, or 3rd December, 1501. Received from Dr. J. Wise.

3. *Bonhara*, in Bihár, 908. Published, *Proceedings* 1870, p. 112.

4. *Cheran*, in Bihár, 909. Published, *Proceedings* 1870, p. 297.†

* Marsden reads the latter date 917. On the former coin, the king's first name is spelt علاو الدين, instead of علاء الدين, with an intermediate *wáw*. This *wáw* should not be read: it arises from a whimsical rule of a class of pedantic Kátibs who maintain that the vowel *u* after a long *á*, as in 'Aláu, requires "a support."

The obverse of the latter coin, to which I alluded in the note to p. 301 of the *Journal* for 1870, Pt. I, is still a puzzle to me, though I have wasted much time in looking at the coin, patiently waiting for a happy guess. I now believe that the second line is القائم سلطنته *alqáim bisalṭanatihī*, the last word being written disconnected, as *sulṭánahu* on the reverse. But the third line is unclear. The weight of the coin is 162·64 grains.

† For a Gaur Inscription of 903, *vide* Glazier, *Report on Rangpore*, 1873, p. 108.

5. *Silhat*, 911. From Dr. Wise.
6. *Máldah*, 911. [G. C.]
7. *Sunnárgáon*, 911. Given above, No. 17.
8. *Hazrat Panduah*, 915. [G. C.]. The rubbing is unclear.
- 9 to 11. *Gaur*, two of 916, and one of 918. [G. C.]
12. *Sunnárgáon*, 2nd Rabí' II., 919, or 7th June, 1513. [G. C.]
Published, Journal, 1872, p. 333.
13. *Bírbhám*, 922. Published, Journal, 1861, p. 390.
14. *Dhámraí*, 922. Published, Journal, 1872, p. 110.
15. *Sunnárgáon*, 15th Sha'bán, 925, or 12th August, 1519. [G. C.]
16. *Gaur*, 925, or A. D. 1519. Published with plate, J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I, p. 256.

No. 25. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Machain.* (A. H. 907.)

قال النبي صلي الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله له
بيتاً مثله في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء
الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في الثاني والعشرين من جمادي الاول سنة
سبع و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, &c., &c. (as before). This Jami' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Alauddunya waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!

Dated, 22nd Jumada I, 907. (3rd December, 1501).

No. 26. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Silhat.* A. H. 911.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * الأمر لهذه العمارة البقعة المباركة المنصوبة بدار
الاحسان حرم الله تعالى من مخافة الزمان العابد العالي الكبير * * * شيخ
جلال مجرد كنيائي قدس الله تعالى سره العزيز في عهد السلطان علاء
الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرد
خان اعظم و خان معظم خالصخان جامدار غير محلي و سرلشكرو وزير اقليم
معظمآبان سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة ||

In the name of God, the merciful and the element! He who ordered the erection of this blessed building, attached to the house of benefit (*Silhat*)—may God protect it against the ravages of time!—is the devoted, the high, the great, * * * Shaikh Jalál, the hermit, of Kanya—may God Almighty sanctify his dear secret! It was built during the reign of Sultán 'Alauddunya waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, by the great Khán, the exalted Khaqán, Khañic Khán,

keeper of the wardrobe outside the palace, commander and wazír of the District Mu'azzamábád. In the year 911 (A. D. 1505.).

In this inscription Shaikh Jalál, whose biography was given under Yúsuf Sháh, is called Kanyái, *i. e.* of Kanyá, which appears to be a place in Arabia.

He is said to have 'ordered' the erection of the building. This can only refer to an order given in a dream, as in the case of 'Alí Sháh and Jalál Tabrízí.

No. 27. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Máldah.* A. H. 911.

قال الدّيبىّ صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بيتا مثله فى الجّدّة * بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السّلاطان المعظم المكرم علاء
الدّنيا والدّين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السّلاطان بن سيّد اشرف الحسينيّ
خلّد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, &c., &c. This Jámí' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 911. (A. D. 1505).

No. 28. *A Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

قد بنى هذا الباب الرّوضة مخدوم شيخ اخي سراج الدّين السّلاطان
المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدّنيا والدّين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السّلاطان بن سيّد
اشرف الحسينيّ خلّد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ستّ عشر و تسعمائة ||

The door of the tomb of the venerated Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín was built by the great and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

Shaikh Akhí was mentioned above among the saints of Gaur.

No. 29. *Another Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

بنى هذا الباب الرّوضة فى عهد السّلاطان المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدّنيا
والدّين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السّلاطان بن سيّد اشرف الحسينيّ خلّد الله
ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شانه و اعزّ خياره و برهانه فى سنة ستّ
عشر و تسعمائة ||

The door of this tomb was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and may He render his benefits and evidence honorable! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

No. 30. *A third Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 918.

بني هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ثمان وعشرو تسعمائة ||

This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918. (A. D. 1512.)

No. 31. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Sunnargáon.* A. H. 925.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا والله اعلم
بالصواب قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى المسجد في الدنيا
بني الله له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد في عهد
سلطان السلاطين سلطان حسين شاه ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه
و سلطانه * بني هذا المسجد ملا هزبر اكبر خان بتاريخ پانزدهم ماه شعبان
سنة خمس وعشرين و تسعمائة ||

God Almighty says, Surely the mosques, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., &c., (as before).

This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the kings, Sultán Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! This mosque was built by Mullá Hizabr Akbar Khán, on the 15th Sha'bán, 925. (12th August, 1519.)

XXII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Sha'h.

Of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king, I have published three, viz.—

1. *Sunnargáon*, 929, or 1523. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338.

2. *Sátgón*, Ramazán, 936, or May, ~~1529~~. Published, Journal, 1870, p. 298.

3. *Gaur*, Qadam Rasúl, 937, or 1530-31. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338. *Vide* Glazier, Rangpore Report, p. 108.

A few weeks ago I received a black basalt slab from the old mosque in Mangalkot, Bardwán District, with the following inscription—

No. 32. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription from Mangalkot*. A. H. 930.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا
مثله في الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان المعظم السلطان
بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه خان ميانمعظم بن مراد
حيدر خان دام عزه في سنة ثلثين و تسعمائة ا

The Prophet says, He who builds, &c., (as before). This Jami' Mosque was built in the reign of the exalted king, who is the son of a king, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzañfar Nuçrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! Its builder is Khán Miyán Mua'zzam, son of Murád Haidar Khán—may his honor continue! In the year 930, A. H. (A. D. 1524)

The following important inscription I owe to the kindness of J. R. Reid, Esq., C. S., A'zamgarh, N. W. Provinces, who sent me a rubbing. The slab was found on the right bank of the Ghágrá, near Sikandarpúr.

No. 33. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription of Sikandarpúr, A'zamgarh*.
A. H. 933.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى له سبعين قسرا في الجنة * المتأسس
لهذا المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه
بن حسين شاه السلطان جعل الله في زمرة عباده أكر المجيد و هو
خاناعظم محندار خان سرلشكر دره خريد في شهر الرجب ٢٧ سنة ثلث
و ثلثين و تسعمائة ا

There is no God, &c. He who builds a mosque, &c. The founder of the mosque, during the reign of the just king Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzañfar Nuçrat Sháh, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God place him among the number of his servants!—is the great Ulur [Ulugh], i. e. the great Khán.....Khán, commander of the district of Kharíd. On the 27th Rajab 933. (29th April, 1527.)

The inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nuçrat Sháh extended his authority over the whole of Northern Bihár; and as Kharíd lies on the right bank of the G'hágrá, Nuçrat Sháh must have temporarily held sway in the A'zamgarh District.

The coinage of this king contains numerous varieties, among which there are several struck by him during the lifetime of his father. The latter coins are mostly of a rude type, and look debased; besides, they are restricted to the Sundarban mint town of Khalifatábád (Bágherbát) and to Fathábád. They either indicate an extraordinary delegation of power or point to a successful rebellion.

1. *Fide* Pl. IX., No. 10. Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains. *Khalifatábád*, 922, A. H. (As. Soc. of Bengal). Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه
خليفة باد ٩٢٢

3. *Fide* Pl. IX., No. 11. New variety. Silver. Weight, 163·14 grains. *Mint town?* A. H., 927. (Cabinet, As. Soc. of Bengal.) Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصر شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطان ٩٢٧

3. *Fide* Pl. IX., No. 12. New variety. Silver. Weight, 162·952 grains. No mint town, or year. Circular areas, and scollops in the margin. The characters are neat. (As. Soc. Bengal.)

OBVERSE.—As in the preceding.

REVERSE.—[يد هورمزد ؟] نصرت شاه السلطان خلد ملكه

I am doubtful as to the correctness of the last words *yad i Hurmuzd*, 'by the hand (engraved by) Hurmuzd.' The characters, though smaller, are clear, and yet it is difficult to suggest anything else.

The years of the three Nuçrat Sháhís published by Marsden and Laidley are not clear; they may be 924 (Marsden) and 927, or 934 and 927. The Cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal, besides the above, contains six different types, among which there is a silver coin struck at *Nuçratábád*, 924 A. H., but it is not clear to what locality this new name was applied.

Nuçrat Sháh's name as prince seems to have been Naçíb Khán; at last this would explain why the histories call him Naçíb Sháh.

He was succeeded by his son

XXIII. 'Ala'uddín Abul Muzaffar Fí'ru'z Sha'h (III).

The Kalnah inscription (A. H. 939) of this king, which I published in the *Journal*, for 1872, Pt. I, p. 332, is of some importance, and I now give a plate of it (*vide* Pl. VII, No. 2). The name of this king is only

mentioned in the *Riyáz*, and though we do not know his source, his statements have, in several instances, been proved to be correct. In the MS. of his work in the As. Soc. of Bengal—the only copy I know of at present—this king is said to have reigned three *years*, which is impossible;* but Stewart found three *months* in the copy which he consulted.

The Society's cabinet possesses a specimen of this king's coinage, struck in 939, A. H., the same year as mentioned in the Kalnah inscription.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 13. Silver. Weight, 163·215 grains. *Husain-ábád*, 939, A. H. Circular areas. The margins are divided into four quadrants, at the beginning of each of which there is the letter *nún*, and in each quadrant there is an arabesque, which looks like the word نصر. The same design is given on Marsden's Nuḡrat Sháh.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان علاؤ الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه

REVERSE.—بن نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
حسيناباد ۹۳۹

Firúz Sháh III. was murdered by his uncle

XXIV. Ghiya's-uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmu'd Sha'h (III).

General Cunningham's Gaur Inscription of this king, dated 941, was published by me in the *Journal*, for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.

Our Society possesses a coin of Mahmúd Sháh of the same type as the one published by Laidley. He refers the coin to 933; but the Society's specimen has clearly 943 A. H. The concentric circles contain the words *badr i sháhi*, or 'royal moon.'

General Cunningham lately sent me the tracing of a Mahmúd Sháhi round *copper* coin, which has the same inscription on both sides, *viz.* العبد غياث الدين محمود شاه البدرشاهي. But though the phrase *badr i sháhi* seems to shew that the coin belongs to Mahmúd Sháh (III.) of Bengal, it would be desirable to have specimens with dates or mint towns.

Mahmúd Sháh is mentioned in De Barros' work, from which the following facts are taken. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor of Goa [*گوءه*], sent in 1534 Alfonso de Mello with two hundred men in five ships to Chátgáon, which then again belonged to Bengal, in order to effect a settlement. De Mello, on his arrival, thought it wise to send a few of his men with presents to Gaur, where Mahmúd Sháh, who tyrannically held the crown, kept his court, in great apprehension of being deposed, but with such state that only his women amounted to the number of 10,000; but though De Mello's men found in Alfá Khán† a friend, the king imprisoned them,

* The passage, however, is corrupt. *Vide Journal* for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.

† This is, no doubt, the Alfá Husainí of Baghdád, mentioned by me in *J. A. S. B.* 1872, Pt. I., p. 337.

and gave orders to seize De Mello in Chátgáon. The latter was shortly after treacherously captured with thirty of his men and was sent to Gaur,* where they were kept strictly confined, because Antony de Sylva Meneses had soon after taken reprisals and sacked Chátgáon. Now at that time Sher Khán and his brother 'Adil Khán had deserted from the Mughul to the king of Bengal. But Sher Khán wished to revenge the death of the youth whom Mahmúd had slain,—De Barros means Fírúz Sháh III.—to procure the throne. Sher Khán, therefore, made war on Mahmúd, and the king asked his Portuguese prisoners to assist him in the defence of Gaur. At the same time Rabelo arrived with three ships sent by the Goa Governor, to demand the release of the captives, and Mahmúd after securing their co-operation sent them to Gorij [Garhi] near K'halgáon, where they valiantly, though in vain, opposed Sher Sháh. Mahmúd, pleased with their prowess, applied to Nuno da Cunha for further assistance; but when Perez de Sampayo came with nine vessels, he found Gaur in the hands of Sher Khán and heard that Mahmúd had been killed.

III.

I now conclude this essay with my readings and translations of the Bihár collection of rubbings from the time of Muhammad Tughluq to the year 1455 A. D.

The first inscription is taken from the vault of one Sayyid Ahmad Pír-Pahár, regarding whom nothing is at present known in Bihár; but it seems to refer to the building of a portico by a near relation of Muhammad Tughluq.

No. 34. *The Muhammad Tughluq Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 737.

حمد گویم خدایرا صد بار مدح وافر باحمد مختار
 شد بنا گنبد فلك آسا
 گیتی آرا محمد صفدر سایه ای زدی بهر کشور
 بوالمجاهد خلیفه با جاه
 بانی این عماره المتصود هست بنده مبارک محمود
 دودۀ خسروی نبیرۀ شاه
 بوده این دولت از سرافرازی یاد گار سبکدگین غازی
 چون مرتب شد این * * * هفصد و سی و هفت بد گفتم

* The Portuguese describe Gaur as three leagues in length, well fortified, and with wide and straight streets, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people, "which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death."

1. I praise God a hundred times, and abundantly glorify Ahmad, the elect.
2. This heaven-touching portico was erected.....
3. The world-adorning M u h a m m a d, who breaks through the ranks, the shadow of God in every realm,
4. A b u l M u j á h i d, the Khalífah of high dignity,.....
5. The builder of this desirable edifice is the slave Mubárak Mahmúd,
6. Of royal descent, the grandson of Sháh.. ...
7. This dynasty, on account of its elevation, has obscured the memory of Subuktigín i Ghází.

When this...was erected, I said, it was 737, A. H. (A. D., 1336-37.)

If the name in the sixth line were not broken away, we might fix the name of the builder with the help of p. 454 of Baraní's history.

Nos. 35 to 37. *The Malik Ibráhím Bayyú Inscriptions of Bihár.*

The next three inscriptions belong to the Dargáh of Ibráhím Abú Bakr Malik Bayyú, who is *par excellence* the saint of Bihár. The shrine lies on the hill to the north-west of the town.

Malik Bayyú was first mentioned by Buchanan, who supposed him to be a purely mythological personage. Mr. T. W. Beale next published in his valuable *Miftáh uttawárikh* (p. 90) the first of the following inscriptions. Col. E. T. Dalton also mentions him in his 'Ethnology of Bengal' (p. 211), and says that Jangrá, a Santál Rájah, destroyed himself and his family in the Fort of Chai Champá, Hazáribágh District, when he heard of Malik Bayyú's approach.

The 'Mujáwirs' or custodians, of the shrine claim to be descended from the Malik. According to traditions still preserved among them, Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was an inhabitant of Butnagar, and was sent by Muhammad Tughluq to chastise Háns Kumár, Rájah of Rohtásgarh. The Rájah frequently came to Bargáon, the great Buddhist monastery, to worship. He oppressed the poor Muhammadans of the country. Now it happened that an old woman, a Sayyidah, killed a cow, in order to celebrate the nuptials of her grandson, when a kite snatched up one of the bones, and let it fall near the place where the Rájah worshipped. The Rájah was, of course, enraged, and put the Muhammadan bridegroom to death. At the advice of her friends, the old woman complained to Muhammad Tughluq. Being uncertain as to whom he should intrust with the command of an expedition against Háns Kumár, he consulted the astrologers. They told him, "This very night a storm will occur in the city, of such violence that all the lights will be extinguished. In whose house a lamp may be found burning, he is the man best fitted for the undertaking." Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was found reading the Qorán by lamp-light, and next morning he was appointed to command the expedition. He at once advanced to Bihár, and surprised Rájah Háns Kumar at the Súraj Pok'har, Bargáon. Although the Rájah

escaped to Rohtāsgarh, the number of the slain was so great, that Malik Bayyú returned with fifty sers weight of sacred threads. He now occupied himself in subduing the warlike tribes of the province, and unfortunately fell at the moment of victory, his enemy Rājah Hāns Kumār having been killed in the same battle. Malik Bayyú's body was brought to Bihār; and the Rājah's head and the sacred threads were buried at the foot of the hill, which still bears the name of Múṇḍ-málá.

According to the inscriptions on Malik Bayyú's shrine, he died, apparently peacefully, on the 13th Zil Hijjah, 753, or 20th January, 1353, in the second year of Fírúz Sháh's reign and about a year before his invasion of Bengal.

No. 35.

بعهد دولت شاه جهانگیر که با دا در بهار ملک نوروز
 شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان که بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
 ملک سیرت ملک بیو براهیم که بد در دین چو ابراهیم کین تور
 بماد ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از مه درین سوز
 بهجرت مقصد و پنجه سه تاریخ مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز
 خداوند ا بفضل خویش بروی کنی آسان حساب آخرین روز

1. In the time of the reign of the world-taking Sháh (may the *mulk i naurúz* be in Bihar!),
2. The king of the world, Sulṭán Fírúz, who was victorious over the kings of the Universe,
3. The angelic Malik Bayyú Ibráhim, who in his faith was as zealous as Abraham,
4. In the month of Zil Hijjah, on a Sunday, of the time, when thirteen (days) of the month had been in grief,*
5. In the year 753 A. H., travelled on that day to Paradise.
6. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!

No. 36.

این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولست کز سهم تیغ او سر افکندي آفتاب
 بت را همی شکست چو همنام خویش تا در عالم بقیاش بود بت شکن خطاب
 صفدار صف شکن چو صف آراستی بحرب رستم بتاب قتاده و بهمن شده ز تاب
 خورشید اگر چه لشکر سیاره را شکست آخر ز کوه ساخت سراپرده حجاب
 نارنج آفتاب که یکشنبه از جهان چون لعل رفت در دل سنگ از برای خراب
 بود از مه معظم ذی الحجه سیزده و ز سال بعد مقصد و پنجه سه در حساب

1. This Jágírdár of Bihār is the Malik, the sword of the dynasty, from the point of whose sword the sun turns his head.

* The poetry is bad enough, but metrical slips also occur. The metre is short *hazaj*; and the *t* in 'budust' has been elided.

*
2. Like his namesake (Abraham), he broke idols, so that in the future world the title of 'Iconoclast' might be given him.

3. (He is) the warrior who breaks the ranks (of the enemies); when he arranged his ranks, Rustam fell into feverish restlessness, and Bahman lost his firmness.

4. Although the sun defeats the army of the planets, he makes at last for himself a screen of the mountains.*

5. On the day of the sun it was, on a Sunday, when, like a ruby in a stone, he (Malik Bayyú) went away from the world, in order to sleep,

6. When thirteen days had passed away from the exalted month of Zil Hijjah, and 753 years of the era.

No. 37.

درین گنبد که هست از روی معنی بقدر از گنبد افلاک برتر
 بخفتست شیر مرده کز نهیبش بخت شیر اندر بطن شیر
 مدار ملک ابراهیم بوبکر که تیغ از بهر حق میزد چو حیدر
 چنین لشکر کشی کشور کشائی نخیزد دوم اندر هفت کشور
 کنون چون بردت افتاد یارب ز راه لطف بکشی برو در
 بمشک رحم و کافور رفت کنی دیوار خاکش را معطر

1. In this dome, which in a spiritual sense has a higher value than the dome of heaven,

2. Sleeps a lion, from whose dread (unintelligible),

3. The pivot of the realm, Ibráhím Abú Bakr, who wielded his sword for truth like Haidar ('Alí).

4. Such a warfare, such a conquest of realms, will not take place a second time in the seven realms.

5. O God, as he has now fallen down at Thy door, open in mercy Thy door to him!

6. Perfume the walls of his grave with the musk of Thy mercy and the camphor of Thy forgiveness!

No. 38. *The Férúz Sháh Inscription in the Chhoṭá Dargáh.* A. H. 761.

The Chhoṭá Dargáh of Bihár is the shrine of Badruddín Badr i 'Álam. This faqír came from Mirat'h, is said to have spent a long time at Chátgáon, and settled at last in Bihár, where he died in 844 A. H., or 1440 A. D., the *tárikh* of his death being بنور حق پیوست, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafuddín Munyari had invited him, but Badr delayed in Chátgáon, and only arrived in Bihár forty days after Sharafuddín's death.

The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and curious to say, has on the other side Inscription No. 6, given above. It thus contains the name

* The light of the sun is so strong that the planets are not visible; but even the sun sets and loses himself behind the mountains. So also Malik Bayyú.

of the Bengal Fírúz Sháh on one side and that of the Dihlí Fírúz Sháh on the other. We often find slabs with Hindú carvings on one side and Muhammadan inscriptions on the other; but I have not heard of a Muhammadan inscription having been treated so; for it is repugnant to the feelings of a Muslim to have God's name walled up. The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts.

مجدد گشت این میمون عمارت بعد پادشاه عدل پرور
 شهنشاه جهان فیروز شاه آنک از آباد شد صحراب و مابر
 بسعی و التماس بنده خاص برید خطه اندر دور داور
 ملک سیرت ملک کافی کفایت فہیم نامور در ہفت کشور
 گذشتہ ہفتصد از تاریخ ہجرت فزودہ بود یک بر شصت دیگر
 ہمیشہ باد شہ بر تخت دولت چونام خویش فیروز و مظفر

1. This auspicious building was renewed in the reign of the justice-fostering king,

2. The lord of the world, Fírúz Sháh, through whom niches and pulpits [*i. e., mosque,*] flourished,

3. Through the exertion and at the request of the special slave, (who is) the Reporter (*barid*) of the District, in the time of the just king,

4. An angelic man, a noble whose guarantee is sufficient, a wise man, renowned in the seven realms.

5. Seven Hundred years have passed away of the Era of the Hijrah, and sixty-one besides.

6. May the king on the throne of power remain for ever victorious and successful, as (indicated) by his name!

The following two inscriptions are of importance for the history of the Dihlí empire.

No. 39. *The Muhammad Sháh Inscription of Bihár.* A. II. 792.

This inscription belongs to the ruined mosque in Kabír-uddínanj, the most northern Mahallah of the town of Bihár. The mosque has three cupolas, the centre one circular, the others octagonal. Two of its lofty minarets have fallen down.

Regarding the king, *vide* Mr. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 306. The metre (long *ramal*) precludes the possibility of an error in the date.

شد بعد دولت شاه محمد نامدار اینچنین مسجد مروج فضل باری کدگار
 این بنادر کرد چون خواجه ضیا ابن عالم بد ر ہجرت ہفتصد دیگر نود دو در شمار

1. In the time of the reign of Sháh Muhammad, the illustrious, this Masjid became generally used, (by) the grace of God, the Creator.

2. When Khwájah Ziyá, son of 'Alá, erected this edifice, it was 792 after the Hijrah. (A. D. 1390.)

N^o. 40. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Dihlí) Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 799.

This inscription belongs to the *Khánqáh*, or cell, of Ziyá ul Haq, governor of Bihár, who was mentioned in the preceding inscription. The slab was found in the cluster of religious buildings known in Bihár as the Chhotá Takyah, 'the small cloister,' in which there is the tomb of Sháh Diwán 'Abdul Wahháb, who is said to have died in 1096, A. H.

As the inscription mentions Mahmúd Sháh as the reigning king in 799, it follows that Nuḡrat Sháh was not acknowledged as opposition king by Malik Sarwar of Jaunpúr, to whom Bihár then belonged. *Vide* 'Chronicles,' pp. 312 to 317.

كود اندر عهد سلطان جهان محمود شاه حاكم خطه ضياء الحق بنا اين خانقاه
هفتصد نه با نود از سال هجرت رفته بود شد تمام اين خانقه بادا ضعيفان را پناه

1. During the reign of the king of the world, Mahmúd Sháh, Ziyá ul Haq, governor of the province, built this *Khánqáh*.

2. Seven hundred and ninety-nine years had passed since the Hijrah, when this asylum was completed. May it be the refuge of the weak! (A. D. 1397.)

Nos. 40 to 42. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Jaunpúr) Inscriptions of Bihár.*
(A. H., 847 and 859.)

From the preceding inscriptions we see that Bihár, in the 8th century of the Hijrah, belonged to the Dihlí empire. With the establishment, immediately afterwards, of the Jaunpúr kingdom, it was separated from Dihlí. Bihár with Qanauj, Audh, Karah, Dalamaui, Sandelá, Bahráleh, and Jaunpúr, had since 796 been in the hands of Malik Sarwar Khwájahsará, who had the title of 'Sultán ushsharq,' or 'king of the East.' He does not appear to have struck coins, and the fact that the preceding inscription does not mention his name, confirms the statement of the histories that he did not assume the ensigns of royalty. He was succeeded by his adopted son Malik Qaranful,* whose elder brother Ibráhm ascended the throne of Jaunpúr in 804, under the title of Sultán Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ibráhm Sháh. After a reign of forty years, he was succeeded by Náḡiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (844 to 862), to whose reign the following three inscriptions belong.

The inscriptions do not mention Mahmúd's *kunya*; the coins (Thomas, Chronicles, p. 322) do not even give his first name. But as Náḡiruddín Mahmúd Sháh of Jaunpúr is the contemporary of, and has the same name

* This word is generally derived from the Greek *caryophyllum*, a clove; but the *Ghiyásullughát* derives it more correctly from the Hindí *karn*, 'ear,' and *phúl*, flower, because women and eunuchs often put a clove into the lobe of the ear. An ear-ornament, resembling the head of a clove, has also the same name. It is possible that Malik Qaranful, like Malik Sarwar, was a eunuch.

as Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd Shāh (I) of Bengal, care is to be taken not to confound the two.*

The first of the following three inscriptions belonged to a mosque which stood opposite to the Chhoṭā Takyah, on the opposite bank of the Adyānādī, in Bihār. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found.

The second and third inscriptions belonged to the ruinous Pahārpūr Jāmi' Masjid.

No. 40.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة ۱۱

مسجد جمعه بعهد شاه دین پور بنا	شد بتوفیق الهی و ز طفیل مصطفی
کشور از شاهان ستاند باج بخشد برگدا	شاه محمود ابن ابراهیم عادل شاه آنک
ذات پاکش قره العین نبی و مرتضا	بانی این مسجد آن مسند شریعت هست کو
ملک و ملت دین و دولت را دراو اتجا	سرور و صدر جهان آن سید اجل که شد
مقطع داور دین خطه نصیر ابن بها	کرده فرمایش بداء خیر ملک الشرق کآن
کعبه در عظم برفعت بیت معمور علا	این بنا شد استوار از طاق کسری در بهار
گازدین مسجد اقامت شد بتائید خدا	غرر ما در جب بد هشمده و چل هفت سال

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says—"He who builds a mosque for God, for him will God build a house in Paradise.

1. By divine grace and for the sake of Muṭṭafā [the Prophet], the Jum'ah mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king

2. Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm the Just, a king who takes realms from kings, (and) gives beggars tribute.

3. The builder of this mosque is the great lawyer, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazā ('Alī),

4. The chief and the centre of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and the royal house, take refuge,

5. (Who) ordered this building (to be erected), he the best in the Eastern (Jaunpūr) kingdom, the Jāgīrdār (*muqṭi'*), the lord of this district, Naṣir ibn i Bahā.

6. This building in Bihār is stronger than the portico of Kisrā; it is a Ka'bah in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity.†

7. It was on the 1st Rajab, of the year 847 A. H., [25th October, 1443, A. D.] when with the assistance of God the first prayer was read (*iqāmat shud*) in this mosque.

* The Jaunpūr Mahmūd Shāhī coins generally have the word *sulṭānī*, and allude to the investiture by some Khalīfah.

† The phrase 'استوار از طاق کسری' in line 6 is a Hindī construction for the Persian Comparative.

No. 41.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة *

بارك الله در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین شاه محمود بن ابراهیم شاه راستین
مقدر گیهان پناه مملکت صدر کریم یافته توفیق خیر از فضل رب العالمین
مسجد جامع بنا کرد آنچنان کاندرجهان طاق بنیاد آمدش با ماه و عای هم نشین
منبر و محرابش از فرط علو مرتبه یافت آن رونق که تحسین میکند روح الامین
وین ندا از عالم بالا همی آید فرود هذہ جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدين
چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام هشتاد و پنجاه و نه بود ست قاریخ از سنین ۸۵۹
در بقاء خیر او احمد همی خواند بجان روح پاک شیخ شرف الحق والدین رابعین

In the name of God, &c., (as above).

1. Blessed be God, in the time of Nāṣiruddunyā waddīn Shāh Mahmūd, son of the righteous Shāh Ibrāhīm [of Jaunpūr],

2. The hero of the world, the refuge of the kingdom, the noble chief, who through the mercy of the Lord of the Universe has found grace to do good,

3. Built this Jāmi' Masjid in such a way, that on earth the arch of its structure dwells together with the moon and the fish.*

4. Its pulpit and niche, from the excess of the loftiness of (their) dignity, have received such a lustre that even the *Rūh ul Amīn* (the warden of Paradise) has approved (of them).

5. And from the upper world, the call comes continually down (to earth), 'This is the garden of Eden, enter it (and live in it) for ever.'

6. Wednesday, the 27th of the month of fasting (Ramazān) of the year 859 is the date of its erection (14th September, 1455, A. D.).

7. Ahmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*ba-jān*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaikh Sharaf ul-haq waddīn.†

No. 42.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة ۱۱

مسجد جامع بموفیق خداوند الہ وز طفیل مصطفیٰ صاحب تمکین و جاہ
شد بعد دولت شاهی کہ صیت عدل او مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماہی تاباہ
آنکہ پور شاه ابراهیم عادل سرفراز آفتاب سلطنت شاه جهان محمود شاه

* I. e., the building is so high, that it touches the moon, and its foundation is so deep, that it touches the fish, upon which the earth is supposed to rest.

† The metre is as bad as the poetry. To get out the metre, we have to read *sharf* or *sharaf*—which is Hindústānī, and have to scan *haqqa waddīn*.

نزهت بیت المقدس حرم بیت الحرام
 بنده فضل الله نبشته بیست هفتم ز صیام هشتصد و پنجاه و نه تاریخ بود و سال و ما

In the name of God, &c.

1. The Jāmi' Masjid, by the grace of God the Lord, and for the sake of Muṭṭafá, the Lord of power and dignity,
2. Was (erected) during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice surrounds the west and the east, (extending) from the back of the fish to the moon.
3. Namely, the son of Sháh Ibráhím the Just, the exalted, the sun of Royalty, the king of the world, Mahmúd Sháh (two distichs illegible).
6. The glory of the holy temple (in Jerusalem), the honor of the Haram (the temple in Makkah).....
7. The slave Fazlullah wrote this on the 27th day of the Fast, A. H. 859 (10th September, 1455, A. D.)

I now bring this essay to a close. It has extended over more pages than I originally had intended. I hope in a short time to put together the collection of inscriptions belonging to the Paṭhán and Mughul periods, received by the Society from General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise, to whose unwearied exertions Bengal History owes so much. In the meantime it would be well if other members also, and all such as take an interest in the subject, would send rubbings and coins to the Society; for in the absence of written histories it is only from mural and medallie remains that we can expect to gain a correct knowledge of the history of Bengal.

Table of the Independent Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, from A. II. 739 to 944, or A. D. 1338 to 1538.

	Statements of the Histories.		Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
	Duration of reign.	Dates.	by Coins.	by Inscriptions.		
1	Fakhruddín Abul Muzaffar Mubárák Sháh,.....	2 years and some months.	739 to 741	739, 741 to 750.	none.	739 to 750 Eastern Bengal.
2	Iktiyáruddín Abul Muzaffar Ghází Sháh, (son)	not mentioned.	753.	753.	none.	751 to 753 Do.
3	'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar 'Alí Sháh,....	1 y. and 5 m.	742, 744 to 746.	742, 744 to 746.	none.	740 to 746 Western Bengal.
4	<i>A. The House of Ilyás Sháh.</i>					
	Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ilyás Sháh,	16 y. and some m.	none.	Western Bengal, 740, 744, 746 to 758; Eastern Bengal, 753 to 758.	740 to 759	
5	Abul Mujaáhid Sikandar Sháh, (son) ...	9 y. and some m.	none.	As prince, 750 to 754; 759 to 761; 763 to 766; 770 to 773; 776; 779 to 783, 784 to 792.	759 to 792	
6	Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar A'zamí Sháh, (son)	7 y. and some m., or 16 y. 5 m. 3 d.	to 775	772; 775; 776; 790 to 799.	none.	792 to 799.
7	Saifuddín Abul Mujaáhid Hamzah Sháh (son),	10 y. or 7 y., or 3 y. 7 m. 5 d.	to 785	804.	none.	800 to 804
8	Shamsuddín,	3 y. and some m., or 3 y. 4 m. 6 d.	to 788	none.	none.	804 to 808

<i>B. The House of Rājāh Kāns.</i>					
9	Rājāh Kāns,	7 years.	none.	none.	808 to 817
	Shihābuddīn Abul Muzaffar Bāyazīd Shāh,	not mentioned.	812, 816	none.	
10	Jalāluddīn Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh, (son)	17 years.	818, 821, 831	none.	817 to 834
11	Shamsuddīn Abul Mujāhid Ahmad Shāh, (son)	16 or 18 years.	836	none.	834 to 850 [or to 846?]
<i>C. The House of Ilyās Shāh restored.</i>					
12	Nāciruddīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh (I),	32 or 27 years.	846	861: Sha'bān, 863; 28 Zil Hijjah 863.	846 to 864
13	Ruknuddīn Abul Mujāhid Bārbak Shāh, (son)	17 or 16 years.	873	860 (as prince); Safar, 865.	864 to 879
14	Shamsuddīn Abul Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh, (son)	7 y. 6 m.	883, 884	882, 884, 885.	879 to 886
15	Sikandar Shāh (II), (son?)	2½ days, or ½ day.	none.	none.	886
16	Jalāluddīn Abul Muzaffar Fath Shāh, (son of No. 12)	7 y. 5 m.	886	886, 887, 888, 889, beginning of 892.	886 to 892

	Statements of the Histories.	Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
		by Coins.	by Inscriptions.		
	<i>D. The Habshî Kings.</i>				
17	Sultân Shâhzâdah Bârbak, the Eunuch,	none.	none.	893	
18	Saifuddîn Abul Muzaffar Fîrûz Shâhî (II),	893	none.	893 to 895	
19	Nâcîruddîn Abul Mujaâhid Mahmûd Shâh (II), (son of No. 16?)	illegible.	23rd Rabî' ... (?)	896	
20	Shamsuddîn Abul-Naqr Muzaffar Shâh, 3 y. 5 m.	896	898	896 to 899	
	<i>E. The House of Husain Shâh.</i>				
21	'Alâuddîn Abul Muzaffar Husain Shâh, 27 y., or 29 y., or 29 y. 5 m.	899, 900, 912, 914	903, 907, 908, 909, 911, 915, 916, 918, 919, 922, 925.	899 to 927 (929?)	* mentioned in Bâ-dâoni as reigning in 901.
22	Nâcîruddîn Abul Muzaffar Nuqrât Shâh, (son)	922, 924, 927	929, 930, 933, 936, 937.	927 (929?) to 939	
23	'Alâuddîn Abul Muzaffar Fîrûz Shâh (III), (son)	939	939	939	
24	Ghiyâsuddîn Abul Muzaffar Mahmûd Shâh (III), (son of No. 21)—de- feated by Sher Shâh,	943	941	940 to 944	



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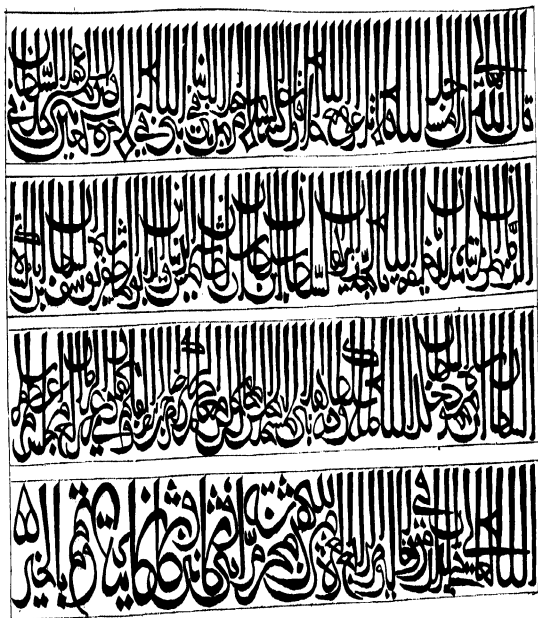
No. 1 & 2. The Kai Kana Inscription of Xagol, A. H. 697.

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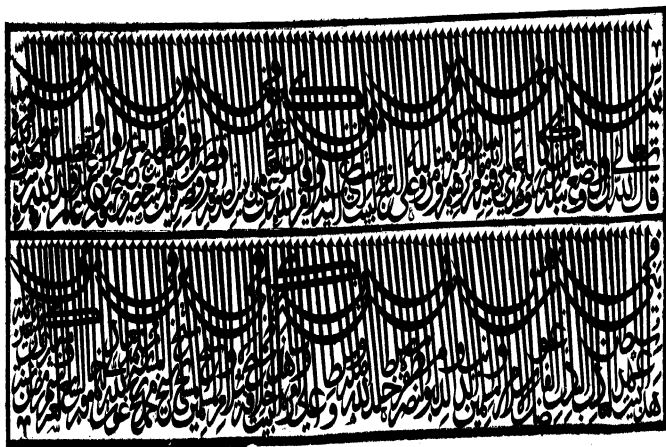
No. 3. The Sikandar Shah Inscription of Hazrat Panduah, A. H. 770.

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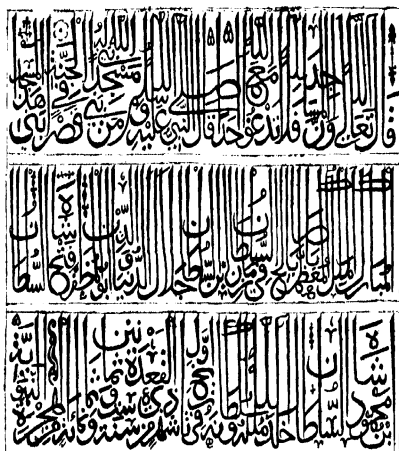
No. 4. The Naciuddin Mahmud Shah (I) Inscription of Gaur, A. H. 863.



No. 1. The Yusuf Shah inscription, of Panduah (Hughli District), A. H. 832.



No. 2. The Muzaffar Shah inscription, of Husrat Panduah, A. H. 838.



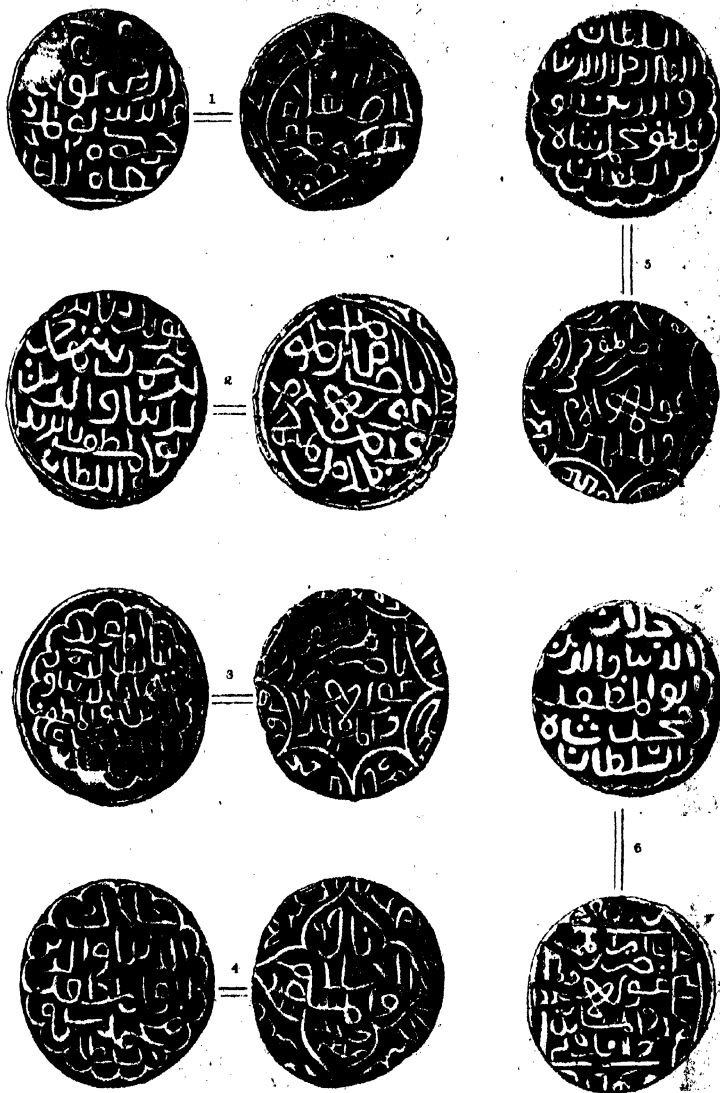
No. 1. The Faiz Shah Inscription of Pnaka, A. H. 984.

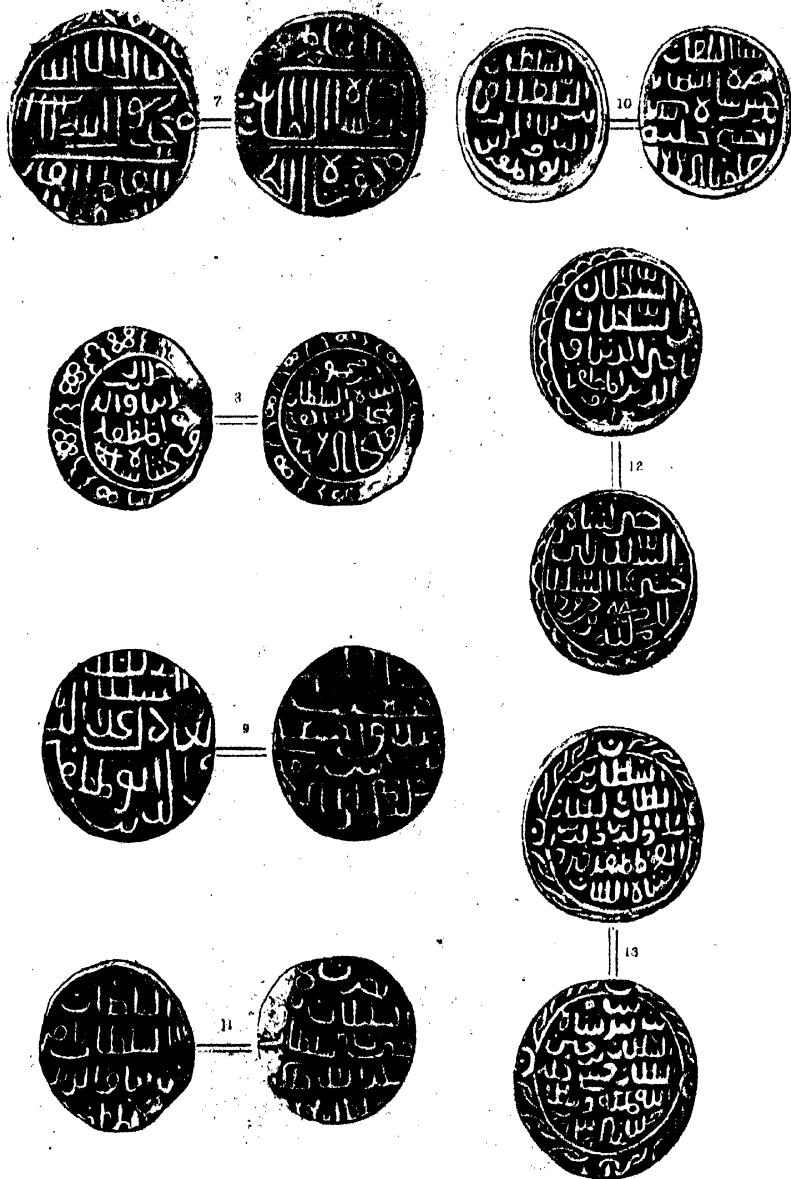


No. 2. The Firuz Shah (III.) Inscription of Kalnah, A. H. 939.



No. 3. The Naqiruddin Mahmud Shah (II.) Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.





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